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ERRATA

Page 100, tenth line from bottom Please read the word *doubts* as *debts*

ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	=	All India Congress Committee
NCO or NC	=	Non-co-operation
CD or CDO	=	Civil Disobedience
STC	=	State Trading Corporation
RSS	=	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
UP	=	United Provinces , *now* Uttar Pradesh
UNO or UN	=	United Nations Organisation
UK.	=	United Kingdom
US or USA	=	United States of America
USSR	=	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
K	=	Khrushchev
SEATO	=	South East Atlantic Treaty Organisation
ICS	=	Indian Civil Service
Sarkar	=	Government

REFACE

The aim of this modest attempt is, to offer to the public a factual and dispassionate narrative of the advent of Pandit Jawahailal Nehru, who is our man of destiny A succinct account of his life and labour, is intended to throw light on the evolution of his character, personality and role in the affairs of our country during the last four decades It is hoped that it will throw light on how far events have helped him to rise to his present stature and how far he himself has shaped them by his views, convictions and conduct

Many books have been already written about him He himself has been a writer of wide range with a natural, forceful and pleasing style His *Autobiography* is both frank and full and throws revealing light on the events of his early life and the crystallisation of his outlook However, compaiatively more space and attention are devoted to the years in which he has been in power as a national hero, a tribune of the people and the architect of our free, sovereign and independent era In him, we have a unique contempoiary example of one who is as much a thinker as a man of action

The summary and synoptic survey here offered will, it is hoped, help the public to distinguish between the essentials and non-essentials of the subject and lead to a balanced, objective and true picture of the man by himself and in relation to the background of the country and nation. Now that adult franchise has increased the responsibilities of the common man, and he has to bear the burden of the State, he has to think carefully and act wisely

The author will feel amply rewarded if he succeeds in his ultimate aim, which is, to enable the citizens to realise that their progress and salvation lie in their own hands, and that only through the organised strength of the people and proper direction of their energies in practicable, proper and fruitful fields can the prosperity of all be promoted Equally essential is it for all, to think for themselves and to bring independent judgement into play, in order to pull weight in the inception and shaping of national policies Hero worship will be of no avail to the country hereafter For there is no salvation in supine, or passive, or mistaken loyalty to individuals, while basic realities and principles are but imperfectly understood and accepted It is not freedom for one man or group of men that matters For then, we shall be merely qualifying ourselves for a new kind of slavery It is in the hope of contributing something to avert this national danger in time, that this book is offered to the public May the people wake up before it is too late and develop balanced thinking

I owe much to many friends who have helped me in diverse ways in compiling this book, but the views expressed here, are of course, entirely my own

A word of explanation for the title of this book, which may appear presumptuous The author is charmed by the expression " discovery " since the time he read of Columbus and Vascoda Gama Also our Prime Minister Jawaharlal claims to have discovered the culture of this vast country, and in a humble way the author has tried to discover or uncover the cult of a great citizen

C M Srinivasan

THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

26th January 1950

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a **SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DO HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

THE PREAMBLE TO OUR CONSTITUTION



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

1 Boyhood and Education

Jawaharlal Nehru was born on the 14th November 1889 with, as the saying goes, a silver spoon in his mouth The Nehrus have been a well-known family of Kashmiri Brahmans who have played a naturally prominent and unwillingly tragic part in the history of Kashmir ever since it came under Moghal rule after Akbar conquered it Our hero's great-grand-father was Lakshmi Narain Nehru who became the first Vakil of the 'Sarkar Company' at Delhi The grandfather went one step higher and flourished as the Kotwal, a sort of garrison commander of Delhi He died in 1861 at the early age of 34, leaving behind three sons, the last of whom Motilal Nehru was a posthumous child The family burden was manfully borne by Nanda Lal, the eldest of the brothers, who followed in the footsteps of his grandfather and chose the legal profession He it was who moved down to Allahabad after a brief stay at Agra For a new High Court had just been established there In his *Autobiography,* Jawaharlal has the following to say about his family

We were Kashmiris Over two hundred years ago, early in the eighteenth century our ancestor came down from that mountain valley to seek fame and fortune in the rich plains below Those were the days of the decline of the Moghal Empire after the death of Aurungazeb, and Farrukhsiar was the Emperor Raj Kaul was the name of that ancestor of ours and he had gained eminence as a Sanskrit and Persian scholar in Kashmir He attracted the notice of Farrukhsiar during the latter's visit to Kashmir, and probably at the Emperor s instance, the family migrated to Delhi the imperial capital, about the year 1716 A *Jagir* with a house situated on the banks of a canal had been granted to Raj Kaul, and from the fact of this residence, 'Nehru' (from *Nahar*, a canal) came to be attracted to his name Kaul had been the family name, this changed to Kaul Nehru, and, in later years, Kaul dropped out and we became simply Nehrus

Nandalal took his youngest brother under his special care and enabled him to join him as a lawyer at Allahabad But his death, like that of his father, was also untimely and so the family burden passed on to the Atlantean shoulders of Motilal whose rise in the profession was meteoric, but unlike a meteor it continued to shine brilliantly to the end of his life Jawaharlal was the only son of Motilal, but two sisters followed at somewhat longer intervals Of his early years and the nature of his home life, Jawaharlal says

An only son of prosperous parents is apt to be spoilt, especially so in India And when that son happens to have been an only child for the first eleven years of his existence there is little hope for him to escape this spoiling My two sisters are very much younger than I am, and between each two of us there is a long stretch of years And so I grew up and spent my early years as a somewhat lonely child with no companions of my age I did not even have the companionship of children at school for I was not sent to any kindergarten or primary school Governesses or private tutors were supposed to be in charge of my education

Our house itself was far from being a lonely place, for it sheltered a large family of cousins and near relations, after the manner of Hindu families But all my cousins were much older than I was and were students at the high school or the universities and considered me far too young for their work or their play And so in the midst of that big family I felt rather lonely and was left a great deal to my own fancies and solitary games

Motilal's way of life combined the ostentatious opulence of Moghal Nabobs with the exotic luxuries, refinements and fashions of western life as lived by the white nabobs in India An only son brought up in such an atmosphere has to face up to an ordeal which cannot be fully visualised by pedestrian plebeians such as most of us are To ride a horse as a daily recreation and exercise, to have governesses to initiate one into the mysteries of the alphabet and then private tutors, both European or English, effectively isolated the lad from the company of his own peers and the atmosphere of a Hindu or even Indian home One of his earliest mentors was a munshi rather than a pandit, and though it may be a slight circumstance, it underlines the fact that the family atmosphere was more Western than Eastern, *less Hindu than Muslim* His mother seems to have kept up most of the Hindu ceremonies and observances, but their effect on young Jawaharlal was apparently exiguous, for he says of this aspect of his mental and spiritual growth "Of religion I had very hazy notions and took it as women's affairs" Very few Indian children could look back on their boyhood and say such a thing Hardly a single Muslim boy could say it of himself even now

After such a sheltered and almost cloistered boyhood, he was sent to England in his fifteenth year and put into Harrow, one of the most venerable and famous public

schools of England It disputed the palm with Eton, and has been a nursery of a brilliant galaxy of England's men of light and leading in all walks of life, particularly statesmen and administrators Thus Jawaharlal's preliminary training began in the traditions of the English public school

He next proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he stayed for three years and sat for the tripos in the sciences Both in his scholastic and academic careers, he evinced no outstanding interest, achieved no memorable successes, and was lost in the decent mediocrity of the majority, except for his Indian provenance and careless profusion He was twenty when he took his degree, and the chief point of interest about his youthful outlook is the fact that politics played the least important part in them Even in the extra curricular activities which loom so large in the life of an English undergraduate, he seemed to have had less than his share For there is no record of his prowess in games or fondness for speaking, two of the most spectacular accomplishments of England's coming young man His own record of his education is candid and conclusive " Often I exceeded the handsome allowance that father made me, and he was greatly worried on my account, fearing that I was rapidly going to the devil But as a matter of fact I was not doing anything so notable I was merely trying to ape to some extent the prosperous but somewhat empty-headed Englishman who is called a ' man about town ' This soft and pointless existence, needless to say, did not improve me in any way My early enthusiasm began to tone down and the only thing that seemed to go up was conceit "

After taking his degree, he came to London hesitating between the I C S and the bar The glittering prizes of

the former were not glittering enough to one who had nothing to wish for in terms of wealth or status or prestige, thanks to the forensic fame and social importance of his father from Simla to Calcutta He saw that a ready-made career was waiting for him at the bar, and so plumped for it and joined the Inner Temple and became a Bar-at-law in 1912 In those days barristers, being made in England, had a higher status than the Vakils in India, and were treated almost on a par with the I C S which ruled the country in the name of Britain Towards the end of 1912, he returned to India and set up practice under the powerful wings of his distinguished father

The new life into which he entered so sedately did not rouse his enthusiasm He himself says that the country was dull and spiritless, that leadership was in abeyance with Tilak in jail, while the moderates, except for Gokhale, did not inspire him with respect or enthusiasm The two races, English and Indian, lived apart in watertight compartments, and though he had the entry into the most exclusive circles in both, he says that he felt bored and sought refuge in his work, in books and in the congenial company of his family There was neither ginger nor, much less, champagne in the public life of the country and he kept aloof from it with a sort of dry superciliousness which comes out in his assessment of the moderate leaders who, he implies, had no fervour or following Even the emergence of Mrs Besant who started the campaign for Home Rule did not grip him, either because she was a foreigner or because she was not extremist enough for him

Then came the first World War Its repercussions on India, though at first indirect and remote, grew in volume and virulence with the passing of the Defence of India Act which put a clapper on such political agitation as had got

under way in the wake of Mrs Besant's colourful lead Of the European struggle itself, he says rather summarily that his sympathies were more with France than with any other country Of the deeper causes of that world-conflagration, or of its wide and woeful harvest of ills that continue to the present day, he seems to have had little or no inkling then This is surely remarkable for one who now plays such an assured and seemingly omniscient role in world-affairs by his frequent and facile generalisations on everything that happens from China to Congo

It is thus clear that Jawaharlal, Bar-at-law, was neither interested in the politics of his country nor in those of the world to any appreciable extent His father was himself a pillar of the Moderate party, and it seems fair to conclude that if he followed any one before he discovered Gandhiji, it was his father who set the pace for him

The other prominent feature of our hero in his first phase is the make-up of his mind His indifference to religion as such is not so surprising as his continuing indifference to Indian thought and philosophy and culture although we find quite early a sincere but somewhat sentimentally expressed preoccupation with the 'masses' His sojourn in England during the most impressionable years of his life so impressed him with the material progress of the West that he gradually came to the conclusion that, only the application of science to our economic progress can bring us salvation, and that the masses, steeped in ignorance and poverty, had to be educated out of their old-world and superstitious ideas The sceptical, liberal temper of mid-Victorian England, the humanitarian rationalism of the cultured man steeped in the spirit of the modern era so coloured his feelings and thoughts that he drifted unconsciously into a frame of mind in which he felt that religion

was the great stumbling block in the path of our further progress

> I used to be troubled sometimes at the growth of this religious element in our politics, both on the Hindu and the Muslim side I did not like it at all Much that Moulvies and Maulanas and Swamis and the like said in their public addresses seemed to me most unfortunate Their history and sociology and economics appeared to me all wrong, and the religious twist that was given to everything prevented all clear thinking Even some of Gandhiji's phrases sometimes jarred upon me — thus his frequent reference to *Rama Raj* as a golden age which was to return But I was powerless to intervene, and I consoled myself with the thought that Gandhiji used the words because they were well known and understood by the masses He had an amazing knack of reaching the hearts of the people
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> But I did not worry myself much over these matters I was too full of my work and the progress of our movement to care for such trifles, as I thought at the time they were A vast movement had all sorts and kinds of people in it and so long as our main direction was correct, a few eddies and backwaters did not matter As for Gandhiji himself, he was a very difficult person to understand, sometimes, his language was almost incomprehensible to an average modern But we felt that we knew him quite well enough to realise that he was a great and unique man and a glorious leader, and having put our faith in him we gave him an almost blank cheque, for the time being at least Often we discussed his fads and peculiarities among ourselves and said, half-humourously that when Swaraj came these fads must not be encouraged
>
> I did not give an absolute allegiance to the doctrine of non violence or accept it for ever

On another occasion after Jawaharlal became the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress after some years and M Mohamad Ali was President, Jawaharlal explains his relationship with the latter as follows

Another frequent subject for argument between myself and Mr M Mohamad Ali was the Almighty Mohamad Ali had an extraordinary way of bringing in some reference to God even in Congress resolutions, either by way of expressing gratitude or some kind of prayer I used to protest, and then he would shout at me for my irreligion And yet, curiously enough, he would tell me later that he was quite sure that I was fundamentally religious, in spite of my superficial behaviour or my declarations to the contrary I have often wondered how much truth there was in his statement Perhaps it depends on what is meant by religion and religious

While Jawaharlal's attitude towards God is negative, Gandhiji's was the opposite as can be seen from his writing in *Young India* of 13th August, 1931

'God is great', and we are but dust But, thanks to our pride, whilst we say with our lips 'God is great', our actions belie the profession and show that we think nothing of God and a 'mighty lot' of ourselves But it is time to realize our helplessness The growing *goondaism* must furnish all with food for reflection It cannot, it must not be answered with counter *goondaism* than which nothing is easier What can be easier than to swear harder than one's opponent, or to give two blows against one, or to organize ten men against five? But this can serve no earthly purpose And if it can serve any celestial purpose, that abode must be worse than the fabled hell

The best way would be for peaceful men to withdraw from meetings when the *goondas* have invaded it Truth will not be suppressed by violence And if those we represent it will suffer without retaliation, they will find that it will spread without effort Without the freedom to everyone to express his opinion, unfettered by interference from those who hold the contrary, ordered life becomes an impossibility

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2 Entry into Politics

The uneasy truce between the moderates and extremists which was sought to be resolved into active association in a common cause by Mrs Besant was side-tracked by the first world war which led to a re-aligning of national forces at the end of it The demand for Home Rule which had become a demand for 'Responsible Government' led to widespread agitation and the emergence of parties imbued with revolutionary violence The quiet return of Gandhiji from his South African crusade, his apprenticeship under Gokhale, the passing of that stalwart and the resurgence of Tilak who was also soon removed by the hand of death, left a void in the national leadership which Gandhiji came to fill Jallianwallah offered a baptism of fire to the new nationalism and the era of Non-Co-operation was inaugurated by Gandhiji

Pandit Motilal Nehru took a leading part in the exposure of British atrocities in curbing the national movement and, drifting away from moderation, became the most powerful disciple of Gandhiji Jawaharlal was fired with a new enthusiasm for national liberation and plunged into the fray, but not without misgivings Says he of the effect produced by Gandhiji

> Gandhiji spoke well in his dictatorial vein best He was humble and also clear-cut and hard as a diamond, pleasant and soft-spoken, but inflexible and terribly earnest His eyes were mild and deep, yet out of them blazed out a fierce energy and determination This is going to be a great struggle, he said, with a powerful adversary If you want to take it up, you

> must be prepared to lose everything, and you must subject yourself to the strictest non violence and discipline When war is declared martial law prevails and, in our non violent struggle, there will also have to be dictatorship and martial law on our side, if we are to win You have every right to kick me out, to demand my head, and to punish me whenever and howsoever you choose But so long as you choose to keep me as your leader you must accept my conditions, you must accept my dictatorship and the discipline of martial law But that dictatorship will always be subject to your goodwill and to your acceptance and to your co operation The moment you have had enough of me, throw me out, trample upon me, and I shall not complain

These are not merely incisive words, but they are prophetic of his own future embodiment of Gandhiji in one respect The Prime Minister has latterly been urging the country to put all its problems on a ' war-basis ' so that they could be solved quickly He has been acting on the principles which Gandhiji expounded on the eve of his fateful and epoch-making Civil Disobedience Campaign

He first attended a session of the Indian National Congress at Bankipore in 1912, but more as a spectator than even as a delegate In those days he was so intensely shy that he says he was afraid of addressing public meetings and was overawed by huge crowds How strange that the same man should now delight in crowds, speak so often, so copiously and also contradict himself with such exuberant nonchalance as to leave the thoughtful gasping in utter despair ! As Prime Minister of the country, as the undisputed boss of a great party and as a statesman of international vogue, the tendency to speak on all occasions and on all subjects has so overpowered him that quality and coherence have been almost swamped by impulse and emotion This may be a virtue in a tribune of the people,

for it is the easiest way of nursing an enthusiastic following But it unfortunately detracts from an administrator and statesman charged with the destinies of not merely his own country but endowed with opportunities to rub world public opinion the wrong way

An ominous change in the temper and outlook of the masses was also spreading The cries of 'Boycott and Swadeshi' which were raised during the partition days came to be reinforced with elements of even more aggressive nationalism under the lead of Gandhiji The boycott was extended and universalised to bring about a complete dissociation of the nation from participation in the conduct of a 'Satanic Government' tyrannically subjugating the country and misruling it The period between 1920 and 1923 was one of great upheaval Gandhiji gathered round him the most eminent, the most ardent and the most variegated types of men and women and launched his campaign The younger generation was represented by Jawaharlal and Subhas Chandra Bose

The nationalist struggle found a powerful ally in the Khilafat movement which helped to awaken the Muslims of the land to the cynical pursuit of power politics by Great Britain in the dismemberment of Turkey after the victory of 1918

Gandhiji thought that, by joining forces with the Muslims of India, he could achieve two objectives at once, namely to forge the bonds of unity between the great communities and to bring combined pressure to bear upon the British Government to grant us our national demand One of the oft-iterated complaints against us as Indians was that we could never get united because of the many deep divisions that rent the body politic The most potent cause of the weakness among us was thought to be the conflict

between Hindu and Muslim, and Gandhiji persuaded himself and succeeded in persuading the great majority of his followers to put Hindu-Muslim Unity in the fore-front of his national constructive programme From 1921 onwards, the Congress had the satisfaction of finding its sessions and activities claiming the enthusiastic allegiance of the Muslims as well The most picturesque of them were the Ali Brothers, the elder of whom, Mohamad Ali was a fiery speaker and brilliant journalist His *Hamdard,* an Urdu weekly, was a perpetual thorn on the side of the government, but his appeal was primarily religious, secondly communal and only thirdly anti-British

It is significant to note in this connection that Jawaharlal either played no part or but a very subordinate part in this marriage of convenience For we know how unsound was the philosophy underlying Gandhiji's tactics and how ruinous in practice it turned out to be For the creation of Pakistan may be traced to the fillip the Hindus gave to the Khilafat movement, for it established the dangerous doctrine that we cannot achieve swaraj without unity and that, for the sake of that unity, we could afford to make any kind of concession to Muslim sentiment in the country

Jawaharlal's secular bias was as strong in those days as it now is The whole of the Muslim world, outside India, had reconciled itself to the abolition of the Khilafat, the more aggressive elements among them rejoicing in its liquidation since it gave them an opportunity to usurp some of the prestige pertaining to that historic, more than religious, office The Arabs in particular who played a key-role in the dismemberment of Turkey under the aegis of Britain did not join in that agitation, while the rise of Kemal Pasha — since cherished as the Ata-Turk of the new Turkey — buried the Khilafat full twice-five fathoms

deep with his radical, progressive and modernist programme of transforming his land from theocracy into a democratic republic

We played into the hands of Muslims without really stopping to think how the continuance of the Khilafat could further the interests of Muslims economically or politically That their religion was not in danger is now amply proved by the fact that it flourishes today as well or ill as ever But the wooing of the Muslims by Hindu leaders created an altogether uncomfortable situation for Hindu nationalism, for it vested a power of veto in the hands of Muslims which they were not slow to exercise in favour of their separatist hopes and ambitions In all these potential dangers of the situation and subsequent disasters culminating in partition, it is melancholy to reflect that Jawaharlal's role was negative, unhelpful and marked by suspended judgment and animation

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Men should be appointed to duty, who have the ability needed for their performance and the resourcefulness to meet the situations arising therein Everything will go wrong if you appoint one out of mere friendship or admiration

—*Kural*

3 Civil Disobedience and Prison - Life

In the earlier phases of the Non-co-operation movement, Jawaharlal gave Gandhiji his enthusiastic support in action His devotion to the fight for national freedom was only equalled by his protestations of dissent from some aspects of Gandhiji's utterances and example He disapproved of Gandhiji's frequent importation of religious ideas into his political campaign But he saw that the masses had come to evince for Gandhiji an almost idolatrous worship , and as the triumphs of Soviet Russia had strengthened his own cerebral attachment to Marxism, he was content to follow the leader even though his reservations and qualifications of Gandhiji's philosophy and political technique were many and far-reaching

For instance, he has often declared that he has no faith in non-violence as a doctrine, but that it conformed to the conditions of Indian political life and furnished the most potent weapon with which to rouse and organise mass sentiment in favour of the political struggle He disliked Gandhiji's emphasis on religion in general and on the tenets of Hinduism in particular But this also he ignored or tried to minimise, taking refuge in the hope that once freedom and power came to us, we could easily side-step such irrational or emotional aberrations He had no faith in Khadi as an economic solution to India's poverty as Gandhiji repeatedly asserted , for he had more faith in science and the application of its developments to industry on a gigantic scale This triple-arch on which Gandhiji reared his edifice

of Civil Disobedience and parallel government as he called it never claimed the whole-hearted allegiance of Jawaharlal And yet, the wonder was that he subscribed to the Constructive Programme, lock, stock and barrel

But the tempo of events left little scope for cool or sober thought and less inclination for constitutional agitation The British Government was equally obstinate and combined repression with reform which resulted in nullifying the reform while embittering the people The visit of the Prince of Wales offered an excellent opportunity for staging a nation-wide demonstration of protest against it as an offensive manifestation of British imperialism The call to boycott that visit caught the public imagination and proved successful from the nationalist point of view All the top leaders were arrested and imprisoned This was the first occasion of Jawaharlal's going to jail

Another adverse effect of the N C O movement was the disruption of studies by our young men who came out of their schools and colleges in large numbers in response to the call for boycotting a 'foreign, soulless and slavish type' of education We who were then studying felt our outlook completely shaken, and we can say from our personal knowledge that many promising and brilliant young men turned their backs on studies and expended their vital energies in negative and futile pursuits The glorification of service to the nation and self-sacrifice really encouraged a spirit of indiscipline and intolerance which, we now see, has infected the student-world even more virulently Thus not only did we not achieve anything then but are now paying a heavy price for diverting the mind of youth from its proper pursuits and preoccupations

The aftermath of the first bout of Non-cooperation was a spirit of schism in the ranks of the leaders them-

selves Pandit Motilal Nehru was himself opposed to these forms of direct action and was ably assisted by such stalwarts as C R Das from Bengal, Veer Nariman from Bombay and Satyamurti from Madras A fierce controversy broke out among Congressmen themselves on the advisability or otherwise of taking part in the provincial elections which were to be held under the scheme of Dyarchy, and nationalist opinion was divided between the No- and Pro-changers The upshot of it was that Gandhiji submitted to the demand of Congressmen to fight the elections, enter the government and continue the fight from positions of office and power Even the dissidents offered not so much to work the reforms as to 'wreck them from within', and it was on this basis that the Swarajist party took all-India shape under the overall leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru Gandhiji and his 'orthodox' followers continued to concentrate on other planks of the constructive programme, and it is interesting to record here the fact that Rajaji was his most brilliant and unflagging supporter, it was even believed that he had a good deal to do in stiffening Gandhiji's opposition to Council-entry What is more interesting to record is that Jawaharlal's attitude was curiously ambivalent then as it has always been on all major issues of national policy He entered the Allahabad Municipality, becoming its president in pursuance of Swarajist tactics, even as Subhas Chandra Bose became the chief executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation But both found to their dismay that they could neither work nor wreck the system with their divided and contradictory ideas

By then, Jawaharlal had become an all-India figure, touring all parts of the country and capturing the public imagination with the prestige of his father and the glamour of his own personality Here was a scion of an opulent

house, brought up in an aristocratic atmosphere but embodying the spirit of a nation in revolt, not so much a nationalist as a revolutionary with an international Marxist outlook and preaching the necessity for a clean break with the British Government and its system of governing the country The air of martyrs which enveloped the elder leaders who had sacrificed glittering material comforts and luxuries to follow Gandhiji overwhelmed public imagination and invested them with a sanctity which made them supermen Together with the prestige of individuals, the primacy of the Congress in the loyalty and affections of the people as the only organisation that could bring them freedom from foreign rule became an article of faith with them

Between 1921 and 1942, Jawaharlal was imprisoned several times on various counts Most of these periods of incarceration were spent in Naini or Dehra Dhun, both in the U P The first was in connection with the Prince of Wales's visit, the second was after the inception of the mass C D movement and the third was soon after the fruitless return of Mahatma Gandhi from the Second Round Table Conference It was soon after the breakdown of the Round Table Conference a new direction was given to the C D Movement Leaders turned their attention to kisans and the agitation took an agrarian turn This was more vigorous in the North than in the South , and Jawaharlal took an active part in the promotion of it in the U P The longest period of his incarceration was in Dehra Dhun where he wrote or prepared materials for his two most popular books, his *Autobiography* and *Discovery of India*

The Satyagraha movement spread like wild-fire throughout the country, and found in some grievance or other much needed fuel to keep it burning In one of these in which women too came to the fore in great force, the aged and

venerable mother of Jawaharlal had the distinction of being beaten by the police on her head It left its lingering effects on her and undoubtedly hastened her death

When Bihar was rocked by earthquakes and floods following in their wake, the Congress as a whole organised relief to the victims on a picturesque and efficient scale under the leadership of Gandhiji and Rajendra Prasad, the latter of whom revealed organising abilities of a high order and even won the respect and approval of the Government itself Jawaharlal also threw himself into the relief work, but a perverse system pounced upon him and whisked him back into prison While there, he heard of the illness of his wife, Kamala, who was suffering from the fell disease of tuberculosis When it was suggested that a visit to Europe might help her recovery, the Government was decent enough to release him He however lost her, and came back alone, bereaved The outbreak of the Second World War found the country in a mood of sullen resentment against the British, and the Congress resolution on the subject withholding co-operation except on conditions, again took the leaders to prison Jawaharlal was among the distinguished company, although Gandhiji was not for offering non-co-operation to Britain in the hour of her need

The Second World War which tried the soul of nations had a serious impact on Congress as well Gandhiji was for a moderate line, though he took care to explain that he would only offer his moral support without committing the country to fight in the front line Others were for total opposition to the Government and argued that unless the world crisis was used to secure national advantages, such a golden opportunity might not occur again Jawaharlal led a school of thought which was prepared to fight for the allies if immediate freedom was granted to this country

Between Gandhiji and Jawaharlal thus adopting different attitudes, a stalemate ensued during which however events did not stand still Gandhiji, while suspending mass Satyagraha, permitted individuals to offer Satyagraha on the issue of war in general and of non-violence as a creed in particular Acharya Vinobha Bhave was the first of the 'peace-brigade' to court imprisonment on this issue This was on October 17, 1940 when he delivered an anti-war speech This gesture was followed by the Government's decision to arrest all the members of the Working Committee of the Congress and keeping them in detention Jawaharlal had intended to offer individual Satyagraha but was forestalled on some other trumpery charge and sentenced to a period of four years Like most of the sentences of those unhappy times, it was savage Perhaps the magistrate thought that the war might go on for four years at least, and that such tall poppies in the Congress like Jawaharlal should be cut off from the outside world for the duration

But actually he was released in 1941, and a fresh attempt was made through Sir Stafford Cripps to resolve the Indian tangle When it failed and was followed by the historic "*Quit India*" resolution of the A I C C passed on August 7, 1942, another round-up of the Working Committee members saw Jawaharlal back in prison for his last and longest term For he was released only on June 15, 1945 as a sequel to Lord Wavell's broadcast announcing a change in the British policy and inviting the leaders of all Indian political parties to a Round Table Conference in India itself The formation of the Coalition Ministry at the centre, the obstructive tactics of the Muslim League, the coming into power of a Labour Ministry in Britain under Lord Attlee, the acceptance of Pakistan by the Congress followed one another in a bewilderingly hectic sequence Then came

the holocaust of the two nations, the exodus of the Hindu and Sikh minorities from the Punjab, their near and distant repercussions throughout the country, culminating in the assassination of Gandhiji by a Hindu fanatic, who shot him dead at a Prayer meeting

First the Constituent Assembly and then our new constitution took shape, and we have been living during the last twelve years under the sway of the policies and personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister of India It is to these years of chronic crisis — of " a permanent revolution " as some leftist thinkers have defined it that we should now turn for bringing up our story to the present

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It is the duty of a government to govern and in the interests of the country This must be done without sidelong glances at the electorate

—*Vicount Hailsham*

4 His Political Evolution

It is a fact that both friends and opponents, admirers and detractors, Indians and foreigners acknowledge the extraordinary sway which Jawaharlal has exercised on the people of India for an astonishingly long period No other leader here or elsewhere has had such a run of popularity and prestige and what is more, no other administrator has been privileged to the same extent to guide the destinies of one of the most ancient, populous and romantic countries in the whole world Part of the aim of this book is to throw some light on this rare phenomenon It should therefore be profitable to trace the evolution of his views and opinions so as to ascertain the part they have played both in the evolution of his own character and personality, and the glamour they have held for the country as a whole

Jawaharlal has admitted that the two people who influenced him most profoundly were his father first and then Gandhiji But among ideas, theories and philosophies whether of life or politics, we have to note that the most powerful, pervasive and single influence which has moulded them is — Marxism Not pure, orthodox, undiluted Marxism but a modification of it which is peculiarly eclectic and individual Says he in his *Autobiography*

> I had long been drawn to socialism and communism, and Russia had appealed to me Much in Soviet Russia I dislike — the ruthless suppression of all contrary opinion, the wholesale regimentation, the unnecessary violence (as I thought) in carrying out various policies But there was no lack of violence and suppression in the capitalist world, and I realised more and more how the very basis and foundation of our acquisitive society and property was violence Without violence it could

not continue for many days A measure of political liberty meant little indeed when the fear of starvation was always compelling the vast majority of people everywhere to submit to the will of the few, to the greater glory and advantage of the latter

Violence was common in both places, but the violence of the capitalist order seemed inherent in it, whilst the violence of Russia, bad though it was, aimed at a new order based on peace and co-operation and real freedom for the masses With all her blunders, Soviet Russia had triumphed over enormous difficulties and taken great strides towards this new order While the rest of the world was in the grip of the depression and going backward in some ways, in the Soviet country a great world was being built up before our eyes Russia, following the great Lenin, looked into the future and thought only of what was to be, while other countries lay numbed under the dead hand of the past and spent their energy in preserving the useless relics of a bygone age In particular, I was impressed by the backward regions of Central Asia under the Soviet regime In the balance, therefore, I was all in favour of Russia, and the presence and example of the Soviets was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world

But Soviet Russia s success or failure, vastly important as it was as a practical experiment in establishing a communist state, did not affect the soundness of the theory of communism The Bolsheviks may blunder or even fail because of national or international reasons, and yet the communist theory may be correct On the basis of that very theory it was absurd to copy blindly what had taken place in Russia, for its application depended on the particular conditions prevailing in the country in question and the stage of its historical development Besides, India, or any other country, could profit by the triumphs as well as the inevitable mistakes of the Bolsheviks Perhaps the Bolsheviks had tried to go too fast because, surrounded as they were by a world of enemies, they feared external aggression A slower tempo might avoid much of the misery caused in the rural areas But then the question arose if really radical results could be obtained by slowing down the rate of change Reformism was an impossible solution of any vital problem at

a critical moment when the basic structure had to be changed, and however slow the progress might be later on, the initial step must be a complete break with the existing order, which had fulfilled its purpose and was now only a drag on future progress

The above words are significant for a variety of reasons It is not unusual for political leaders to start with one set of ideas or ideals and end with another set of them, having either no relation to them or becoming but a pale shade of a shadow of them But with Jawaharlal, his first views on political institutions and political philosophy have remained practically unchanged through all the vicissitudes of his career up to the present He is a Marxist first and foremost He is attracted by the 'Brave New World' which it promises , he is impressed with the tremendous progress which Soviet Russia has achieved He does not approve of violence, thanks to his tutelage under Gandhiji , but he consoles himself with the thought that the means are not so important when the end is so superlatively welcome

He has his revolutionary spirit kindled and nourished by the prospect of ushering in Utopia in the shortest possible time Of the alternative methods of gradual reform, progressive march towards the goal, moderate action or the technique of carrying all sections of the people by devising a platform embodying the greatest common measure of agreement, he summarily says that they are incapable of leading to satisfactory or quick results Capitalism is unrelieved evil and has been responsible for all the world's ills , and so it becomes the duty of a leader to abolish it as soon as possible — the sooner the better Even more surprisingly, he attacks the basis of violence on which the capitalist world is supposed to be based, while conveniently forgetting that the same cult of violence is also at the root of

the Soviet system Or rather, he persuades himself into the belief that the violence of the Soviet system is only a passing phase, while the violence of Capitalism is inherent in it and so is incurable It cannot be mended but only ended

This admiration for Russia, for its material progress and alleged achievements is justified on the ground that the problem of poverty has been solved by it Because Russia has abolished all vested interests in religion, kingship, aristocracy and plutocracy, and because it chimes in with his own scientific, rational and intellectual outlook, Jawaharlal has come to ascribe to the Soviet system virtues which are said to be found nowhere else In this facile over-simplification of a very complex issue, feeling and wishful thinking play such a subtle part that they are not overthrown by argument or facts which disprove it

The poverty of India is as proverbial as its fabulous wealth and luxury This unevenness — found everywhere in the world — is believed to be due to capitalism, feudalism and outworn social, religious and ethical ideas and practices So unless all these obstacles are first removed, there can be no chance of reorganising society on fresh, pure, enduring and just foundations Imperialism was the worst of these manifestations, since it not only combined all the other defects, but gave them a lease of life and subordinate power which hindered human progress And so away with it first of all!

His anti-imperialism found nationalist expression and echoed the ardent aspirations of us all, yearning for freedom from the British yoke , and this was the first element in his popularity with us But whereas other more moderate schools of thought in the country were content to secure national freedom within the British empire with the achievement of ' dominion status ', Jawaharlal stood out for absolute severance of all connection with Britain This republican-

ism thus flowed from his Marxism no less than from his hatred of imperialism Independence, absolute and untrammelled, was of course the ultimate objective of all Indians, but the more staid sections of the country were content to treat it as a remote ideal or a distant goal Jawaharlal wished to start with it But the irony of history or the whirling of time has led him to an unanticipated result For he began with complete independence and has now lamely limped back to Dominion Status, in fact if not in name, by applying for and securing the membership of the 'Commonwealth of Nations' He has proudly declared that it is to our interests, and that it in no way detracts from our complete independence When however leaders of such sturdy patriotism and impressive stature as the late Rt Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri pleaded in its favour, he dismissed them as apologists of the British Empire Even Gandhiji was not averse to Dominion Status so long as it guaranteed to us the 'substance of our freedom' But by adopting such an extreme and irreconcilable attitude in the days of our struggle, he gave the impression to the public that he was of higher calibre than all the rest

Other planks in his political platform, he continued to press with unfaltering vigour He stood for the abolition of feudalism, capitalism and the princely states of the country on *a priori* grounds That all of them had developed abuses in the course of the centuries was admitted on all hands, but he alone stood for their complete liquidation In those days, he called himself (like most leftists outside Russia) a 'socialist' But it was only a disguised label for communism and the reason for it was that the popular assessment of communism was instinctively one of dread and not of admiration By holding up to the public the patent abuses of the old order, it was quite easy to generate the

kind of resentment against it which is vital to the rallying of mass sentiment in favour of mass action

Another consequence of his Marxist convictions and outlook was a consistent over-emphasis on the economic aspect of social organisation, and an equally dogmatic depreciation of the imponderables of life embodied in religion, faith, a moral code derived from religion and social institutions based on theories which run counter to the Marxist creed He constantly spoke of a nation which could be organised and knit together with the help of the economic nexus alone, and minimised the strength of the religious and sociological urges which sway men in the mass He believed that the cleavage between the communities was due to economic rivalry arising from *imbalance* between the haves and the have-nots , and for want of such redress, it took on a communal turn He promised that once freedom was gained the communal question would automatically disappear How sadly he misjudged the situation is evident from the fact that though we have now become independent, the vexed question of communalism still continues to exercise both the country and his own utterances and policies Even in 1961, at its session in Sardarnagar, the Congress had to observe in the course of an official resolution " Caste, although loosing its basic force, is beginning to function in *a new political garb Communalism, which in the past* has done so much injury to the nation,, is again coming into evidence and taking advantage of the democratic apparatus to undermine this unity and to encourage reactionary tendencies " The acquiescence of a rebel group in the Congress led by himself in the demand for Pakistan, far from opening his eyes to the actual and continuing dangers of it, has inflamed those very communal feelings to a point where he is unable to deal with them effectively In the name of

friendship, of peace, of generosity and what not, he has been placating Pakistan ever since it came into existence — uniformly at the cost of the Indian nation

His prejudice against capitalism has become more pronounced since he came into power than when Gandhiji was alive He would like to abolish it with a single stroke of his pen or a single oral order He has curbed, cribbed, cabined and confined it round such a multiplicity of controls, laws and regulations that it has been behaving like a condemned man without any hope of reprieve The socialist pattern of society was formulated only after Gandhiji's death , and it is significant to record that he precipitated a crisis within the Congress organisation at the time he was elected as President when he wished to commit the Congress to socialist principles The elder members of the Working Committee led by Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Rajaji with the backing of Gandhiji himself tendered their resignations to enable Jawaharlal to go ahead with his ideas

Faced with such a threat, Jawaharlal beat a hasty retreat, for he knew then that, shorn of Gandhiji's protective mantle, he would be nowhere in the picture Like a great general, he stayed his hand and beat a retreat and bided his time He was not concerned, either then or since, with the great problem of ends and means, for like all ardent revolutionaries, he proceeded on the assumption that the people do not always know what is good for them and that it is the task of leaders to convince them by action The popularity of any movement which is based on the ' scapegoat ' principle is uniformly attested by a variety of events in the course of world-history , it is therefore not surprising if Jawaharlal's views on socialising the country caught the imagination of more immature and ardent spirits, and raised expectations in the public mind that socialism would lead

them into an El Dorado of riches

But he has also cultivated a strain of Victorian liberalism and individualism which expresses itself in a theoretic attachment to civil liberties The repressive policies of the British Government in tackling the Civil Disobedience movement led to incidents which roused the indignation of the country as a whole Gandhiji had described the British rule as 'satanic' Jawaharlal paraphrased it in more elaborate and picturesque language He bitterly attacked such black acts as the Rowlett Act, the power to intern people without trial and so on He denounced the use of force by the government to put down mass demonstrations, and always held that the people were in the right and the government in the wrong Gandhiji took a more realistic view, as we have seen He warned the country that it would have to pay a bitter price for freedom and that we should not complain if the British should adopt extreme measures to defeat us He understood the dictum that a government would always try to govern Only he promised to show a way of making it impossible for it to govern us For he also knew that a government which cannot govern automatically goes! This was the inwardness of his insistence on the nation developing 'soul-force' to oppose the brute force of the enemy How ironic that Gandhiji's heir, Jawaharlal as the Prime Minister of the country since independence, should have had recourse to the same kinds of repression to maintain law and order! This is but one of many glaring instances of Jawaharlal doing the very things which he condemned in others

It was again his Marxist outlook that has led him to cultivate labour more than capitalist and landed classes. His economic views are coloured by a hatred of the era of mid-Victorian liberalism and the *laissez faire* theory both of

which are now as dead as the dodo The present trends of scientific and technological progress pose far different problems which have thrown into the shade the so-called opposition between conflicting interests This out-dated obsession of his, has led to a lopsided development in his outlook which may be studied in the bewildering contradictions of imperfect planning, failure of objectives, enormous waste, incurable inefficiency and blatant corruption

It is not that we question his *bona fides,* — very much the contrary Jawaharlal's politics and pronouncements are the result of passionate convictions which we must respect as candid and fair-minded people But they are unsuitable to the conditions of our country and disastrous in relation to the very objectives he has in view Sentiment is a very good thing, but it must be harnessed to right action, and politics is the art of the possible The author well remembers a small but significant incident Early in 1958, a deputation of leading landowners and agriculturists waited upon the Prime Minister to discuss the pros and cons of imposing a 'ceiling' on the ownership of land It pointed out how the fragmentation of land was likely to adversely affect food production the increase of which is an urgent national need Jawaharlal blandly told the deputationists that there was 'land-hunger' among the peasants and that it must be satisfied Granting that the alleged land hunger exists, is it legitimate, and if so what should be done about other kinds of equally imperious hungers, and whether the State can satisfy all of them and subserve over-all national interests, are questions to which he would not pay the slightest attention The discerning public can see that an economic cloak is given to a political objective This is to get the popular votes to sustain the party in power

His Marxist outlook has also determined his anti-

imperial and anti-colonial attitudes, now more prominently seen than when he was a mere 'agitator' He speaks of exploitation, of suppressing the people and grinding them between the millstones of poverty and ignorance only in the capitalist world He shuts his eyes to the fact that these abuses are even more rampant in the Communist-controlled countries of Asia and Europe But he justifies his stand by alleging that the people are in control in Communist countries more than in capitalist countries, and implies that the people can do no wrong Even if they did so, it is their own affair! This extraordinary attitude is illustrated by his international policies He is all for the liberation of Africa, not of Tibet or Poland or East Germany In the proceedings of the U N O our spokesmen and he himself have never lost a single opportunity of attacking the West while professing to be neutral and non-aligned as between the Western and Eastern bloc If at all he disagrees with the Soviet bloc, it is a diplomatic, silent disapproval, to be inferred,—not overtly expressed

The Western nations, like our capitalist and entrepreneur class, know this fully well But both are thankful for the small mercies he throws them as crumbs Chief of them is the fact that we are not aligned with the Communist *bloc* openly Both he and they speak of democracy fervidly, hoping, not that we are a democracy or might become one in course of time, but rather that the evil day of our turning Communist may be postponed for as long as possible For, he has so organised himself and his party that either no worth-while opposition exists or the only one likely to take his place is that of Communism Thus the country finds itself after a dozen years of this freedom between the devil of Communism and the deep sea of an undeclared dictatorship



The Father of the Nation

5 Gandhiji and Jawaharlal

Gandhiji has been hailed as the greatest man of his time, even by those who consider him a reactionary, acknowledging his towering moral personality. He was a man of religion though he did not conform to any one religion in all respects. He was a great politician notwithstanding his adoption of unorthodox methods of organising and leading a nation to its goal. He was full of contradictions, but they did not detract from the strength or persistence of his appeal to the gentle and the simple, the masses and the intelligentsia alike. The secret of his unique hold on popular affections, if not adoration, was his utterly selfless nature, his austerity, and his abounding love of humanity which transcended all distinctions of race, creed and caste. But he was also a supreme tactician and built up a following which was devoted to him and the common cause with unflinching zeal and unwavering loyalty. He identified himself with the life of common men, participated in their joys and sorrows, and through such emotional identification with them, derived

a power which he used for the public good The elite and intellectuals of his time flocked to him and were moulded by him, sometimes against their will ! Of these Jawaharlal was the most distinguished

A great inborn trait of Gandhiji was his love of the people and a faith in the bedrock of goodness in humanity With a dominant spirit of divine love, he could find no enemies in the world, and if there was any difference between him and another, it was due to the difference in the understanding and the values he set up

Gandhiji, before he returned to India, had already had all kinds of political experiences in South Africa A No-tax campaign, Satyagraha, Civil Disobedience, all these had been employed to obtain redress of wrongs

Returning to India he met almost all prominent leaders, and attended the Indian National Congress in Calcutta where he worked as a humble volunteer It was during this time he was attracted towards Gopalakrishna Gokhale, whose great knowledge, careful methods of political action and high patriotism were outstanding He loved the Servants of India Society and developed a great regard for the members of it Gokhale was specially kind to Gandhiji seeing his earnestness and simplicity and treated him like a younger brother Gandhiji was proud to proclaim Gokhale as his political Guru

Writing in 1938 to an English friend, Jawaharlal says : 'I suppose my father and Gandhiji have been the chief personal influences in my life, but outside influences do not carry me away There is a tendency to resist being influenced Still influences do work slowly and sub-consciously My wife influenced me considerably, though unobtrusively' There is reason to believe that the couple were both impulsive, quick-tempered and self-assertive But

in later years, specially after the sad and premature demise of his wife, he grew mellow under Gandhiji's influence Both were revolutionaries, but with a difference There was a throw-back in Gandhiji's temper and make-up which did not appeal to the disciple

Besides, Gandhiji distributed himself among his admirers, followers and even critics in such subtle ways that all came under his spell

A notable instance of this was Gandhiji's request that the late Rt Hon'ble Sastri should be with him by his bedside when he underwent an operation for appendicitis in the Yerrawada Jail It was not a co-worker in the political field or the still wavering Chela from Anand Bhavan that he thought of in what was widely feared might be a critical moment in his life, but his political opponent and relentless critic The relations between Gandhiji and Sastri were altogether out of the common , for there was deep and mutual regard and respect between the two, notwithstanding their ideological differences Sastri venerated Gandhiji as a 'saint in politics,' while Gandhiji held Sastri 'as a patriot of the purest water and a man of sober wisdom and unflinching moral courage'

Gandhiji was as frank as a child, for Truth was the God he worshipped — the naked, unvarnished truth however unpalatable it was His experiments with Truth and on himself are among the most remarkable documents of intense human and spiritual interest He wanted to develop the soul force of India by leading the masses through revolutionary but peaceful and non-violent methods He was really a moderate at heart, for even when he promoted revolt, he insisted on order, obedience to a higher law which was moral and mystic, and which has kept our society together through the ages He took the wind out of the sails of

Socialists, Communists and all left-wingers by his passionate denunciation of injustice, exploitation and the down-trodden condition of the masses It is significant that the author of the 'socialist pattern of society' did not propound his ideas then

At every stage in his progress, Gandhiji would feel the pulse of the masses, and never drove them beyond their ability to follow The frequent starting and suspension of his Satyagraha experiments were dictated by his appraisal of the mass-mind and the extent to which it imbibed his ideal and technique and responded to them The Chauri Chara incident well illustrates this Because it was a crude manifestation of violence and mob-rule, he showed his disapproval of it and suspended the movement

Jawaharlal viewed the situation from an exactly opposite point of view He writes in his Autobiography 'We were angry when we learnt of this stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts For it seemed to us to be impossible to guarantee against the occurrence of some such untoward incident If non-violence was the sole condition of the functioning of the movement, then the non-violent method of resistance would always fail' Both Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal protested against the stoppage, but Gandhiji was adamant He wrote 'Let the opponent glory in our humiliation or so-called defeat It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than be guilty of the denial of our oath and sin against God It is a million times better to appear untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves' Here then we may see a basic difference betwen master and disciple

The same difference in outlook as regards the objectives of Swaraj cropped up between the two Gandhiji

always said 'One step enough for me,' and prepared for it with thorough zeal and thought But Jawaharlal Nehru was exuberant, over-optimistic and felt that a revolution, however brought about, would work wonders Gandhiji looked upon the Congress as a 'Free Institution' open to all patriots, and that it must allow the popular will to be reflected in its deliberations freely He looked for its strength in the loyalties and affections of the masses, not in its organisational details Being an individualist, he looked upon any system as a potential threat to the liberty of the individual As against socialism of any type, Gandhiji said 'I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear because, although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress'

Besides, Gandhiji often declared that once Swaraj was won Congress should be dissolved if the people were to taste the reality of freedom and responsibility The reason why he desired its abolition was simple, he feared that it might itself be tempted to profit by the coming of freedom to perpetuate itself in power, on the strength of its past record of service and sacrifice to the national cause He brought this out clearly by stipulating that if it should continue at all, it must pass 'a self-denying ordinance,' laying it down that none of its members should accept a paid job under the State Gandhiji knew the force of the dictum that 'power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely' He wanted to save the Congress from such a calamity which has since inevitably overtaken it

Gandhiji's proletarian sympathies were expressed not merely in moving terms, but he identified himself with them in ways which none of his followers, now in power could

copy He submitted himself to austerities, privations and simplicities to come nearer to the hearts and minds of the people He did not inflame them with ideas of their rights alone, but he told them how duties and obligations flowed from rights Jawaharlal's outlook was coloured by Western ideas in this respect as well He felt that the masses must be organised to achieve the goal of freedom, and the power they obtained should then be used to improve their lot almost in spite of themselves The bewildering number and rapidity of reforms and changes which he has thrust upon the country in the last twelve years or so prove how, unlike Gandhiji, he thought that laws and regulations would change conditions by themselves

Gandhiji's socialism was on a voluntary basis and drew its sanction from the call of conscience The ideal of class-war never appealed to him, for he saw how it was motivated by resentment, jealousy and hatred He pleaded for some parity between means and ends A good objective cannot be achieved through evil means, and people should be led to reforms instead of reforms being thrust upon them So long as Gandhiji was alive, we never heard of class being set up against class, capital against labour, the farmer against landlord, the poor against the rich, the student against his teacher Not that there were no disputes, but Gandhiji showed a way of resolving them through love, sympathy and understanding in preference to the use of force or compulsion or legally enacted discriminative measures

Today, it is undeniable that the Indian citizen has lost many of his individual rights and privileges in the name of a 'socialist pattern of society' We pride ourselves on working democracy and democratic institutions even better than elsewhere But Parliament has become a docile tool to register the will of a disguised dictator In the British

era with all its shortcomings, the administration was at least efficient and reasonably pure Anti-social elements were kept in strict check, black-marketeers, profiteers, and licence-pedlars were put down with a firm hand But the Congress in power today shelters these classes through controls and rules and laws in return for their financial support to Congress funds Never has there been so much open outcry against corruption everywhere, and never has it been ignored with greater cynicism than now Patriotism is not enough for running the country properly, we have more need now of an efficient, honest and less costly administration

But Gandhiji took Jawaharlal under his wings and prepared him for leadership after himself With such powerful backing, the vogue of the latter as Gandhiji's disciple spread and he became the idol of the masses The only serious rival to him in popular regard was Subash Chandra Bose who too was claimed by Gandhiji as his disciple In fact he once said that the two were as his two eyes Both the younger men had much in common along with differences which were destined to come to the surface with the passing of years, and the culmination of the national struggle Lack of faith in non-violence as a creed, already referred to, was shared by both

Rather than raise an issue of it, Jawaharlal turned his attention to create or organise or strengthen the Trade Union movement which had already come in the wake of both British and Communist examples The industrial proletariat was thus roused along with the rural agricultural classes This led to many conflicts reminiscent of the old days in the West which Gandhiji himself did not wholly approve He himself organised the mill-workers in Ahmedabad city, and persuaded both capitalist and workers to

observe a code of conduct which he drew up for them It was remarkably successful as no strikes or lock-outs disfigured the life of Ahmedabad for years together The example of Ahmedabad was, unhappily, not more widely followed, and Gandhiji himself was so much taken up with his political work that he could not do anything more in this field Thus this field was left almost wholly to the disciple

The virtue of Gandhiji's leadership was that it was both active and educative He adopted such methods as compelled the respect and agreement of even his opponents He could distinguish between empty flattery and sincere devotion, and often warned the country against taking him for an infallible person He thus encouraged people to think for themselves and come to their views without his personal authority

Gandhiji's consideration for the minorities was unique Once he declared to Mr Jinnah 'I am in your pocket, use me any way you like, only let it be in the national interest' Then when the war came, Gandhiji showed how he could adapt even his doctrine of non-violence to the exigencies of the situation For he gave his moral support to the allies, and even recommended such a course to the Congress But Jawaharlal was uncompromising in his opposition to the war at first, for the same reasons which Russia urged, namely that it was an imperialist war and that therefore democratically minded people and nations should not help either side But when Russia was invaded, then was raised the slogan of a 'people's war' and most revolutionaries all the world over echoed it Jawaharlal adopted the line that if Britain gave freedom to India, then she would fight with the allies Subhas Chandra Bose went one step further and wanted to take advantage of Britain's difficulties

to win freedom for the country He was prepared to join hands and hearts with either Germany or Russia or Japan so long as the promise of help came from any of them

The cleavage between Gandhiji and Jawaharlal was always there, but it came out on occasions only Thus though at first he approved of the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin pact, he later regretted it and denounced it as opposed to the national interest One reason for such an attitude on Jawaharlal's part was that he was already marked out for future leadership by Gandhiji himself who declared 'Though he now seems to be opposed to me in some respects, he will speak my language after me' This was prophetic in a very unexpected sense , for Jawaharlal now talks of pacifism and has weakened the nation by concessions to Pakistan, China and other local fissiparous and communal tendencies No wonder that the masses took Gandhiji's words literally and came to look upon Jawaharlal as his chief disciple and spiritual successor A more amazing instance of confusion cannot be imagined

Gandhiji did another thing which added enormously to the popularity and prestige of Jawaharlal In all matters of international politics, Gandhiji pleaded complete ignorance and even indifference, and said that he left that field entirely to his disciple He added that whatever Jawaharlal said about international affairs would be unquestioningly accepted by him The result of this was that Jawaharlal has succeeded in imposing his views on the country all these years on the strength of Gandhiji

It would have benefited the country more had Gandhiji continued his leadership of the Congress beyond the year 1942, instead of being merely an adviser to the Congress Kaka Kalelkar a biographer of Gandhiji writes 'It was in 1942 that Gandhiji named Jawaharlal as his heir The

period that followed witnessed Gandhiji working not as a principal figure but as a spiritual leaven doing its utmost to purify the atmosphere The world that had always misunderstood him and distorted his motives came to realize his grandeur and its own littleness in his presence He also realized that there was a limit beyond which it was not possible to raise a generation '

During the discussions on the problems of communal unity and the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim accord in regard to the administration of the country with the Cabinet Mission during 1946, Gandhiji was not in the forefront leading the Congress It was Azad who, functioning as the President of the Congress, carried on the negotiations with Jawaharlal and Patel to support him

Gandhiji's work after 1942 was more spiritual than political It is best said in the words of Kaka Kalelkar " Lord Wavell imposed upon the country a joint Government composed of the Congress and the League, and the Congress soon discovered that nothing but paralysis would result from such an experiment The partition of the country which Gandhiji had resisted with the whole of his being had to be accepted as the only alternative to political extinction Forces of evil were let loose and India had to pay the supermost price for attaining independence The partition did not bring about the peace that was legitimately hoped for, for both India and Pakistan suffered Forces of suicidal hatred stalked the land How could Gandhiji be a living witness to this utter denial of all faith in God and Goodness ? He rushed to Naokhali and tried to nurse the victims of communal devilry back to health But before he could succeed there, he had to rush to Bihar and apply the vacuum-brake to the maniacal reaction to Naokhali Calcutta, Delhi, Punjab all became fury spots and it taxed

to the utmost the resources of the Congress Government to localize the trouble and prevent it spreading and becoming a general conflagration It was one of the highest achievements of a young Government and success was possible only because, Gandhiji put in the whole weight of his spirituality on the side of forbearance and love He proclaimed with all his power that hatred must be met with love and evil with good It is this policy of the Congress Government, under the inspiration and guidance of Gandhiji, that gave to India a moral lead in the councils of the world The unresponsiveness of the Muslim League and the Pakistan Government and of the Nizam's Government, exasperated some narrow-minded sections in the Hindu community They could not understand Gandhiji Gandhiji knew that it was 'Dangerous to be good' — in the words of Shaw — but there was no other solution He inwardly knew what was in store for him, but that could not deter him Only through his death could he convince the Muslims that he was their well-wisher as much as of the whole world It is too early to calculate the results of his martyrdom But it is eternally true that the blood of a saint has never failed to overcome the forces of darkness and evil Gandhiji's prayer is sure to be heard by the Lord who rules the hearts of men"

In the context of what has happened after Gandhiji passed away, we wish to draw our readers' attention to the words of Nirad C Chaudhari in the 26th July, 1959 issue of the *Illustrated Weekly of India*

> Our present rulers have completely rejected Dharma, the highest concept of life among us Hindus, both in its Brahmanic and in its Gandhian form, and plumped for 'Secularism This is both unintelligent and uneducated, for 'Secularism' in India and Secularism in the West are not identical When a Euro-

pean, or to be more specific a Frenchman denounces clericalism and proclaims his secularity, he takes his stand on the second and the complementary plank of his entire civilization — acceptance of the world as against its denial by Christianity, *respect revealed dogma* assertion of freedom as against the authoritarianism of the Church, and so on and so forth This secularism is a complete system of ages, which has come down from the Greek philosophers, and has been reasserted by Descartes and by the great modern scientific thinkers A Nehru may have some affinity with this secularism but, to the great majority of even educated Indians it is incomprehensible and unacceptable

Therefore, what this secularism of our rulers amounts to, in practice, is a tawdry materialism, a descent to all the vulgar, shallow and easy habits and propensities of the town rabble in the great Western industrial democracies, which are undermining the highest things in Western civilisation itself In this country, the typical secularist is seen in tight trousers and striped manilas, gate crashing into the football fields and picture houses, and worshipping the only goddesses he will ever understand — the film stars To cut the matter short, the Secular State in India is the political counterpart of the Indian film I would have said that it would destroy Hindu Society and all Hindu values, if I did not know that the finale would be the other way round

The most curious feature of all these anti-Gandhian trends is that their greatest and most vocal exponent is the Beloved Disciple of Gandhiji, the man whom he built assiduously to take his own place as the leader of the masses of India, and whom he did make his heir During all the years of his long association with Mahatmaji Jawaharlal Nehru ruthlessly suppressed himself to be loyal to his leader This was not opportunism, for he sincerely believed that the nationalist movement could not do without Gandhiji, and he was prepared to sacrifice many things to have him But I would still say Was it worth while respecting and obeying Gandhiji for his negative and destructive role alone, in order to reject all that was positive in him?

To conclude, the irony was that for all the popularity Jawaharlal gained through Gandhiji, he had already made up his mind to do away with all the fads and fancies of Gandhiji once Swaraj was obtained That he has got rid of them all for the most part is now known to all His methods too have become autocratic as he believes that the people will continue to support him whatever he might say or do This is not Democracy, although he is very fond of speaking in praise of it in and out of season

Taking a long range view of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal we may sum up their differing outlook briefly in Gandhiji's own words

> My service of India includes the service of humanity Isolated independence is not the goal of the world States It is voluntary inter-dependence The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent States, warring one against another, but a federation of friendly, inter-dependent States The consummation of that event may be far off I want to make no grand claim for our country But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal independence I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence

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REAL SWARAJ

Real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity to resist when it is abused In other words Swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority

—*Mahatma Gandhi*



The Tiger of Bengal

6 Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal

Seven years junior to Jawaharlal, Subhas Chandra Bose was a great contemporary of our hero and both worked for some years together in the struggle for freedom through the Indian National Congress

Subhas Bose was born in 1897 at Cuttack in Orissa, of Bengali parents, and there he spent the first seventeen years of his life His father Janakinath Bose was an able, public-spirited lawyer, who became public prosecutor in Cuttack and later a member of the Bengal Legislative Council

As usual with the English-educated well-to-do families in the country, Subhas was sent early to the Missionary School in Cuttack where he could learn only English Shortly after, as the Bengali language was compulsory for the Calcutta Matriculation, Subhas was sent to an Indian School to prepare for his examination

He then joined the Presidency College, Calcutta in 1913, took philosophy for his studies, became an ardent student of Vivekananda and read all his lectures and works

There occurred an incident in the college where Subhas was a student as a result of which he was expelled from it

It was nothing less than leading an assault on one of the English lecturers

> The lecturer had been indiscreet and impatient, the students too ready to take offence Hostility had grown There had been angry protests against remarks he had made, and Bose had led them The students were excited, militant, determined to dramatise, to see the affair as a test of the manhood of Indian youth, and hence of India s own future 'India has entered on a new life , he wrote at this time 'Blessed are we that we are living in this auspicious hour Cast off despair and look yonder to the new light before us, and follow it' Such a mood in a pupil was more than difficult At length a chance word caused the Englishman to lose his temper and he laid his hands on one of the students That afternoon a party of them assaulted him Bose had been present and his leadership was taken for granted, he would neither deny it nor apologise and was expelled in February 1916

As Subhas's father insisted that his college course in Calcutta must be completed, he joined the University in 1917 and took a first class honours in philosophy in 1919

From his student days Subhas displayed a fighting spirit against the British rulers of India as many of them were arrogant and insulting in their manners towards Indians

The Nationalist turbulence in Bengal attracted young Subhas's attention, but his father wanted him to join the Indian Civil Service, so highly prized in those days by our educated youth, on account of the power, prestige and emoluments attached to it

At Cambridge, Subhas made many friends and wrote to his friends in India "People here have a sense of Time Many are their defects but one must bow one's head for their merits" The Englishmen's energy, love of discipline and *esprit-de-corps* were admired by Subhas Subhas passed

the Civil Service open competitive examination brilliantly in 1920, standing fourth in the rank with a number of Britishers below him

But soon afterwards he had a crisis of conscience brought on as much by his nationalist fervour as by Gandhiji's call for Non-co-operation He wrote to his brother Sarat, 'I must either chuck this rotten service and dedicate myself fully to the country's cause or I must bid adieu to all my ideals and aspirations' So far no Indian had yet resigned from the Indian Civil Service, and Subhas was the first Indian to do it He took the fateful step in January 1921 and joined the *Forward* the nationalist paper in Calcutta

It was about this time Gandhiji had promised independence for India in one year if the country would follow him Subhas threw himself at the feet of Gandhiji like Jawaharlal, although neither had much faith in civil disobedience or non-violence

Even more than Jawaharlal, Subhas was impulsive, daring, and believed in the western methods of wresting freedom from foreign rule, but somehow Subhas also came under the spell of Gandhiji and both Jawaharlal and Subhas worked in the Congress helping to formulate programmes and drafting resolutions for its Committees So closely did Subhas work with Jawaharlal that no one could then dream of a clash between them And yet it came soon after his election as Congress President in 1938

Subhas's plan of campaign for the freedom of India was radically different from that of his colleagues He felt independence was to be won by the development of the Indian National Congress into an instrument for the establishment of a parallel government He was against Dominion Status because it would perpetuate British capitalist

interests in India He was also against separate electorates on the basis of religion

Even while incarcerated in Mandalay he was nominated as a candidate for the Bengal Legislative Assembly and elected in the hope that he would be released to attend the Assembly sessions, but the government would not release him

Subhas was a person of delicate health and fell ill often In 1927, when his health broke down, he was offered freedom to go to Switzerland to recoup his health, without setting foot in India, but this he contemptuously refused

In 1928 Subhas became the General Secretary of the Congress along with Jawaharlal and was also member of the All-parties Committee, to deal with the unwanted Simon Commission He was for absolute independence for India He began organising Congress volunteers on a quasi-military basis When Jatin Das, one of the Congress volunteers starved himself to death in Lahore prison in September 1929, he led the funeral procession of the dead patriot through Calcutta

Subhas by now had become the most popular leader among the younger generation who wanted a strong national army for India, and he became the idol of youth, for the story about him went that he was a teetotaller and that he would not marry while India remained unfree

The reason why Gandhiji fixed his eyes on Jawaharlal for leadership of the country, and not on Subhas was, that though Subhas was religious-minded, he never agreed with Gandhiji's methods C R Das was the political Guru of Subhas and he had no patience with Gandhiji's non-violence and other peaceful methods Jawaharlal also, though he did not agree with Gandhiji in his methods, compromised himself, as he found in him a lodestar that attracted the

masses, and unlike Subhas, he realised soon, that a close association with Gandhiji, must help him to get the masses with him

There was a mystic strain in Subhas's character inherited from his mother, a woman of intense religious fervour, and in fact like Buddha, he once thought of forsaking his family and friends, and live a life of renunciation Subhas in his early days had wandered over the foothills of Himalayas in search of Saints and Sages, and visited all important places of pilgrimage, hoping to realise the true value of life There was something in him of Aurobindo, but unluckily Subhas's political idealisation was based on Fascism which he wanted to adopt to liberate his country

Subhas, like Jawaharlal, was arrested a number of times for 'leading Independence' processions

After the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, he was free for some months After the failure of the Second Round Table Conference, there was a new trial of strength Subhas never favoured Dominion Status, but unfortunately as he fell ill often and during February 1933 he was released from jail on condition he went to Europe to recoup his health

Subhas entered Dr Furth's sanatorium in Vienna It was in Vienna that Subhas met Vithalbhai Patel and earned his admiration and love It was during 1934 some radicals of the Congress formed the socialist party within the Congress organisation Subhas was not for any new party until independence was attained But the manifesto which he issued jointly with V J Patel, called for a new party to lead the country away from Gandhism !

Subhas was elected Congress President in 1938 at the instance of Gandhiji, for he had become the most colourful leader and had tremendous sway over the people of Bengal. He had carried on a crusade against British rule which was

inspired by deep national fervour and intense hatred of British rule As we have seen, Gandhiji was moderate by temper, while Jawaharlal was willing to be guided by him in regard to tactics Subhas was not so amenable to Gandhiji's influence and ideology, and it was hoped that the crown of Congress would tone down his views It was a year of international forebodings, for it saw the Munich Pact which exposed Britain to the charge of trying to appease Hitler There was talk of a world-war, and so it behoved Congress to move warily Subhas was more outspoken in denouncing the British, and foresaw that India would have to exploit the international situation to her own advantage He even hinted that both Gandhiji and Jawaharlal might compromise with British imperialism and thus weaken the national struggle

In 1939, he stood for re-election although Gandhiji declared that he would prefer some other candidate to succeed him Gandhiji backed Dr Pattabhi Sitaramiah of Andhra , but Subhas and his followers campaigned vigorously and inflicted a defeat on Gandhiji's nominee to the surprise of the whole country Gandhiji took it as a personal defeat, and under his inspiration the Working Committee and Jawaharlal too withdrew their co-operation from him Subhas fell ill again, and the work of the Congress came to a standstill A special session of A I C C saw the resignation of Subhas and the cleavage in the Congress rent the country in two

The correspondence that took place between Subhas, Gandhiji and Jawaharlal in that period of internal turmoil has since become public, and it shows how apart from the clash of personalities, there was also a deep gulf separating Subhas from Jawaharlal Subhas accused Jawaharlal of being really for compromise, with hopes of personal

aggrandisement, with being dictatorial and intolerant of other opinions than his own, while Jawaharlal retorted that mere extremism in speech was not the sign of a truly revolutionary spirit Subhas's letter to Jawaharlal ran as follows

Jeagora P O ,
Dt Manbhum, Bihar
March 28 1939

My dear Jawahar,

I find that for some time past you have developed tremendous dislike for me I say this because I find that you take up enthusiastically every possible point against me , what could be said in my favour you ignore What my political opponents urge against me you concede, while you are almost blind to what could be said against them In the course of what follows I shall try to illustrate the above

Why you should have developed this strong dislike for me remains a mystery to me On my side, ever since I came out of internment in 1937, I have been treating you with the utmost regard and consideration, in private life and in public I have looked upon you as politically an elder brother and leader and have often sought your advice When you came back from Europe last year, I went to Allahabad to ask you what lead you would give us Usually, when I approached you in this way, your replies have been vague and non committal For instance, last year when you returned from Europe, you put me off by saying that you would consult Gandhiji and then let me know When we met at Wardha after you had seen Gandhiji, you did not tell me anything definite Later on, you produced some resolutions before the Working Committee in which there was nothing new and there was no lead to the country

Yours affectionately,

(Sd) SUBHAS

The war broke out, the leaders were interned again, and Subhas went on a hunger strike When he was released and kept in house detention, he carried out the most romantic plan of disguising himself and escaping from the country into Afghanistan from where he reached Europe He sought the help of the enemies of Britain to further the cause of Indian liberation, and drifted to Japan when the Far-Eastern struggle between America and Japan was precipitated by Pearl Harbour His subsequent career as the organiser and supreme commander of the Indian National Army with headquarters at Singapore has since become a chapter as much in the history of the world-war as in that of the Indian Freedom movement But he faded out of the Indian scene and was reported to have died in an aircrash under mysterious circumstances

Of Subhas, H V Kamath, who worked with him personally wrote as follows

> His unwavering faith in God, a rare quality which he had in common with Gandhiji impressed everyone who came into close contact with him Under his pillow, he always kept a small book — a pocket edition of Bhagavath Gita He was so steeped in its ethics and philosophy that one day he said to me 'How can I personally accept ahimsah as an inflexible principle of action, when Krishna himself exhorted Arjuna not to run away from a righteous war, a dharma yuddha ?
>
> He often used to say 'Life is bigger than politics' I am not wide off the mark when I say that if Lokamanya Tilak could be described as the 'Father of Indian Unrest', Mahatma Gandhi as the 'Father of Indian Struggle' then verily Subhas Chandra Bose was the 'Father of the Indian Revolution'

The points of interest for us in this struggle between Subhas and Jawaharlal are more than personal Subhas is the only cent per cent revolutionary which the national

movement threw up His methods no less than his ideology were opposed to those of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal He too believed that the end could justify the means He too was socialist and visualised a future India which would be completely cut off from the British connection, and he was even frank enough to say that to usher in socialism, a period of dictatorship by the revolutionary leader would be necessary to transform free India into a strong, united and great nation He was the first to suggest that Congress should devote its attention to the drawing up of a plan of reform and reconstruction which was to be economic and psychological He too believed that the communal question could be side-stepped by the economic measures which would rid the country and its masses of poverty, ignorance and apathy In fact, most of the measures which Jawaharlal as Prime Minister has since implemented can be traced to the ideology and utterances of Subhas in the period of his conflict with the official Congress organisation

In fact Subhas as Congress President, convened, in October 1938, a meeting of the Ministers for Industry of several provinces , and, regardless of the opposition of some of his colleagues on the Working Committee, he brought into being the National Planning Committee He offered its Chairmanship to Jawaharlal, who gladly accepted it Subhas categorically rejected the materialistic basis of Marxist Socialism, but he had in his mind that Socialism which has its origin in the thought, culture, and dharma of India

The ways of Fate or destiny are inscrutable If he had survived the war, there is no knowing what shape the course of subsequent events in India might have taken We cannot say if he too would have conceded Pakistan But of one thing we may be reasonably sure He would have pre-

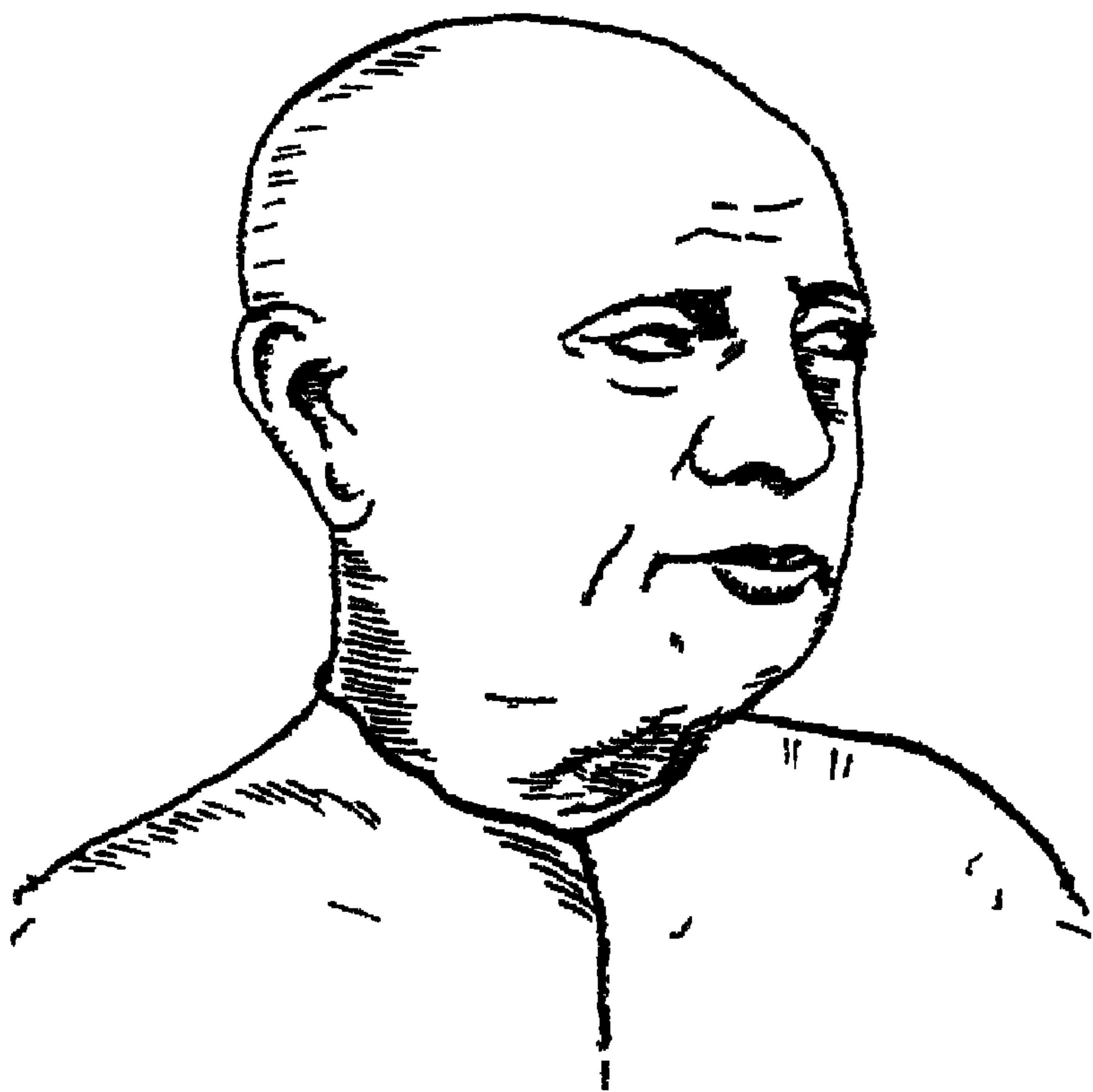
cipitated a more bitter kind of civil war in the country in pursuance of his revolutionary ideas and ideals, and he might have been driven to join hands with other foreign powers , or he might have led an opposition to Jawaharlal which might have paralysed the latter or even displaced him from all India leadership which is now so completely his Whether Subhas would have been a better leader than Jawaharlal in the seats of power is therefore a mere matter of academic speculation But it is important to record here that the only man whom Jawaharlal feared was Subhas , and the reason for the fear was his towering personality, implacable opposition to British imperialism, revolutionary fervour and a mass appeal which sprang from deep Indian roots Of sufferings and sacrifices, all our leaders had more than their share But in tragic dignity, intensity of convictions and a flaming patriotism which neither asked for nor gave quarter to the 'enemy', whether inside the country or beyond it, Subhas stands alone in isolated grandeur He had a flaw, but it was a tragic flaw which only true greatness reveals, and his countrymen judge him not with their intellects but with their hearts

Subhas ended his life as a Martyr with sword in hand fighting for the freedom of his native land

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Mr Justice Brandeis whose whole life and work were dedicated to the cause of social justice, writes as follows

"Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evilminded rulers The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding "



A patriot with an Iron Hand

7 Vallabhbhai Patel and Jawaharlal

The history of our national struggle shows that Bengal, Maharashtra and Gujerat have made the most picturesque contributions to it The awakened political consciousness in the country was due to Bengal , the militant expressions of it belong both to Bengal, and Maharashtra while Gujaret came to liquidate them in the Ahimsa and non-violent doctrines of Mahatma Gandhi The rest of the country followed the lead of these dynamic forces without making any notable alteration of their own to shape or divert the main lines of development If Gandhiji was the saint of Indian politics, then Vallabhbhai Patel was its supreme man of action

Born in the year 1875 in a remote, obscure village of Gujerat, of a family of farmers, Vallabhbhai preserved to the end an air of aggressive rusticity, which contributed to the build-up of his personality in the popular imagination But he was by no means a peasant himself, and actually went through a course of education including the study of the law in England which made him a shrewd lawyer and a formidable man He was one of the five boys and a girl of whom Vithalbhai, his elder brother, has also secured for

himself an honoured niche in the national pantheon For Vithalbhai rose to be President of the old Central Assembly in the teeth of the organised opposition of the Government and functioned as Speaker with an assurance, courage and patriotic zeal which were most uncomfortable to the bureaucracy Mani Bhen, Vallabhbhai's daughter was also in the freedom fight ever since it drew women into it, and gave all her life to the national cause without hope of profit or reward

That Vallabhbhai was a man of action and a shrewd campaigner was shown even while he was a student, for he is said to have worked for his teacher in a municipal election to such purpose that he won the fight against his rivals At first he worked as a District Court Pleader, doing pretty well, and had plans of going to England to achieve the coveted title of 'Bar-at-law' But Vithalbhai also desired to go to England for the same purpose As both could not afford the expenses at the same time, Vallabhbhai changed his plans and helped his elder brother to gratify his ambition first Only after Vithalbhai's return and establishment in Bombay, did Vallabhbhai go to England

He lost his wife when he was thirty-two and never married again Returning from England, he set up as a Barrister at Ahmedabad and soon became a prominent figure in local affairs He entered the municipality in 1917 and soon showed that he had zeal, knowledge and drive, for he became a constructive critic and a forceful head of the administration When Gandhiji's Non-co-operation programme was decided on at the Congress session of 1919, Vallabhbhai welcomed it enthusiastically and took on hand the organisation and preparation of Gujerat to make it a success

He bade adieu to the bar, and soon became the most

prominent lieutenant of Gandhiji in his many campaigns of direct action The earliest of them was Congress support of the agrarian cause in Bihar where the poor peasants had to fight the rapacities of white planters and brown landlords The Zamindari system of revenue collections was much more rigid and worked much more ruthlessly in North India than the ryotwari system in the South Gandhiji's efforts to ameliorate the condition of the working classes led to some improvements , but more importantly, they served to bring the message of Swaraj to the masses, and thus paved the way for the growth of the national demand into a mighty and irresistible movement

But Vallabhbhai shone in a new role when he conducted the Satyagraha and No-tax campaign in Bardoli, and successfully paralysed the government machinery there Although the peasants suffered untold hardships and all their meagre possessions were distrained or sequestrated, they stuck to their guns, and the government had to come to terms with them at last It was one of the most inspiring, because most non-violent manifestations of a tussle between the people and an alien, irresponsive Government It was in the course of this campaign that Vallabhbhai earned the title by which he is universally known

During the campaign, he had issued certain instructions to the peasants which were in defiance of the laws and rules of the government A local official met Vallabhbhai and remonstrated with him for misleading the peasants, and added that they were disobeying the Sarkar He also said that he had come with orders from the Sardar to see that the laws were obeyed Vallabhbhai then replied 'Sardar, which Sardar? The people will obey me and not your Sardar I am the Sardar here!' And so the title stuck to him The name Patel has been almost lost in the title

Sardar which has become immortal in the annals of our history

As President of the municipality of Ahmedabad, as leader of the peasants and as a friend of the labouring classes, the Sardar became the uncrowned king of Gujerat The Gandhi-Irwin Pact secured many of the rights of the people who had suffered in the N C O campaign, and the Sardar became one of the inner circle of Gandhi's followers When the parliamentary wing of the Congress was formed to work the constitution under Provincial autonomy, he became the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, and so had a decisive voice in the conduct of elections, choice of candidates and organising the ministries in the provinces where Congress secured majorities

When the national movement spread into the old native states, and the people there organised themselves to end autocratic rule, Vallabhbhai threw himself into it with his accustomed vigour His work and the influence of Gandhiji were so great that many small states specially in Bombay and Gujerat took forward moves to associate the people with the government

The coming of the second world-war put an end to the power of the Congress in the legislatures, and the national struggle ran into other difficulties with the growth of the Muslim League which had become alarmed at the manner in which Congress had successfully administered the states Federation was proposed by the British Government, but it was rejected for different reasons by the differing political parties in the country In all the welter of words and statements and counter-statements which darkened counsel in those troubled years, the Sardar was conspicuous for his silence and steady devotion to Gandhiji

Already with the election of Jawaharlal as President of

the Congress, a minor trial of strength was witnessed between the old Guards and the new recruits Jawaharlal's socialism was unacceptable to the conservative wing of the Congress, and a crisis was forced by Vallabhbhai, Rajendra Prasad, Rajaji and Kripalani resigning from the Working Committee to give the young evangel a free field in which to work with colleagues who shared his views Nehru was however not ready for the leadership in defiance of the seniors and in spite of Gandhiji So he compromised and allowed his own views to lie in wait for more suitable opportunities The letter of resignation sent by these stalwarts is a historic document and we give it below

Wardha, June 29, 1936

Dear Jawaharlalji,

When you appointed us members of the Working Committee after the Lucknow Congress in spite of known differences of opinion and outlooks, we hoped it would be possible to evolve a common line of action and to work jointly keeping in the background the differences and concentrating on the point of agreement We have been trying our best to accommodate ourselves but unfortunately we find that it has not been possible to secure an adjustment that can enable the two differing elements to work harmoniously or speak with one voice We feel that the preaching and emphasising of socialism particularly at this stage by the President and other socialist members of the Working Committee while the Congress has not adopted it, is prejudicial to the best interests of the country and to the success of the national struggle for freedom which we all hold to be the first and paramount concern of the country. You also appear to feel and have even expressed that the Working Committee as it is constituted is not of your choice but forced on you and that you accepted it against your own better judgment Our own impression of the events at Lucknow is contrary to yours We are wholly unaware of the slightest pressure being put upon (you) by any of us Anyway the

position created by your declaration is highly unsatisfactory and we think we should give you the fullest latitude to work without feeling hampered in any way by the presence of colleagues in the Working Committee whom you regard as a drag We feel on the other hand that the Congress should still follow the ideals, and the line of action and policy which it has been following since 1920 and which we consider to be best suited to our country particularly in the present conditions and which have already shown great results We are of opinion that through your speeches and those who have been emboldened by the speeches we have referred to, the Congress organisation has been weakened throughout the country without any compensating gain The effect of your propaganda on the political work immediately before the nation, particularly the programme of election has been very harmful and we feel that in the situation created we cannot shoulder the responsibility of organising and fighting the coming elections

It is not without much reluctance that we have, therefore, decided to tender our resignation from the Working Committee We think that the step we have decided upon after much deliberation is just to you and to ourselves and in the best interest of the country as we see it

Yours sincerely,

Rajendra Prasad
C Rajagopalachari
Jairamdas Doulatram
Jamnalal Bajaj
Vallabhbhai Patel
J B Kripalani
S D Dev

Another letter which Patel wrote to Jawaharlal reveals how strict and correct Patel was in the administration of Congress affairs according to their own rules and regulations

Ahmedabad, March 9, 1937

My dear Jawaharlal,

I see from the Press reports that the M P C C met at Poona on the 8th and decided against office acceptance, but on the same day the Assembly Members of Maharashtra (newly

elected) held a meeting and passed a resolution in favour of office acceptance They did not stop there but went further and passed another resolution recommending the nomination of Mr Nariman as Chief Minister This is too bad It is in direct contravention of your instructions recently issued in this behalf I am afraid this resolution is the result of active canvassing for Ministership from Bombay It appears that the M P C C is unable to control their elected members of the Assembly Unless stronger control from the Centre is exercised things will go wrong I am enclosing a cutting of these reports for your information

I am reaching Delhi via Bombay on the 14th evening Hope you are doing well

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai

The relations between the Sardar and Nehru were always correct but not cordial It was their undoubted patriotism and their common devotion to the personality of Gandhiji that kept them together both during Gandhiji's life time and after his tragic death

Azad's reminiscences have a good deal to say of the inner history of the working of the Interim government and of the circumstances that led to the acceptance of Pakistan by both Patel and Nehru The key-portfolios in the government then or now were finance and home affairs As parity was the basis of collaboration with the Muslim League, it followed that if the Congress wished to have Finance then it had to surrender the Home department to the Muslim League, and vice versa Finance was given to the League and we know how Nawab Liaqat Alikhan queered the pitch for the Congress by outlining the first dose of socialist proposals to 'soak the rich' There were murmurs of protest from the Hindu business community, but it availed them nothing or since Jawaharlal was in sympathy with the

measures suggested by Liaqat Ali and there was an end of the matter

But ironically enough, the Leaguers worked so compactly and put so many obstacles in the way of smooth government as to exasperate both Nehru and Patel It was in that frame of frustration that they thought that they could turn the tables on Jinnah and the League by offering to concede Pakistan Both were inspired, very probably, by identical hopes and expectations These included the risk of Pakistan breaking down and then forcing the Muslim masses to clamour for the *status quo*, or, in the alternative for the rest of India to go ahead with its reconstruction proposals unhampered by a hostile and permanent opposition Neither of these expectations materialised as we now know to our bitter experience

But to resume the record of Patel as administrator He achieved the integration of the six hundred and odd Indian States in a truly Moghal fashion He knew that he had the backing of the people and the time spirit worked against the autocratic and feudal systems The abdication of power by the British so unnerved even the more powerful of the princes that they decided to commit as gracefully as they could a sort of political, dynastic and historic suicide !

The integration of India is a memorable landmark in the history of our country The country might not have been quite ripe for it, but it was evident to all that the old order was dead and could not be revived While Patel made a clean job of Hyderabad, it is Nehru who has kept the Kashmir question festering ever since as a major source of our weakness It was even rumoured at the time that Jawaharlal claimed exclusive jurisdiction to deal with Kashmir by bringing it under the Foreign affairs portfolio thus displaying an inconsistency which is so outstanding in his

record For, if it was a matter for the foreign department, the question of making it a part of the Indian Union was wholly irrelevant, but if Kashmir as we still maintain, is a part of India, it legitimately falls within the purview of the Home Department

Be these as they may, the upshot showed that Patel bowed to the Prime Minister out of a sense of loyalty which has not led to the solution of the conflict The events following the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi also exposed the Sardar to the atrocious libel that he was in some indirect way responsible for it Both Patel and Jawaharlal quarrelled with the Mahatma over a petty issue of finance between India and Pakistan, and declined to act on his suggestion of an unconditional and unilateral step Eventually both came round, but meanwhile the mischief had been done, and the rumours spread that Patel and Nehru had fallen out and that it was a struggle for supremacy of each over the other Patel gave the quietus to all such wild talk by publicly declaring his readiness to follow Jawaharlal to the end of his life, adding quite generously that he was not his equal in mass appeal, that he was old, enfeebled and unfit for leadership and that the country should rally round the leader as he himself did This was not the least heroic of Patel s gestures in the national interest

The exit of Patel from the Indian scene, natural enough in the circumstances, may well be viewed as a blow to our ordered and steady progress Jawaharlal was not easily swayed by others, as he has claimed and as even Maulana Azad records more in sorrow than in anger But Jawaharlal is also a shrewd strategist, notwithstanding his idealistic utterances If only Patel had been alive, he with Azad might well have put a salutary check on his exuberant mentality and led him to undertake reforms more suited to

Many persons are under the impression that young Azad went to Egypt and studied in the Al-Azhar University in Cairo The truth is he did not study outside India, though he had visited Egypt when young

In his capacity as the Editor of *Al-Hilal*, Azad challenged the traditional interpretation of Islam and also Sir Syed's doctrine of political subservience He began interpreting to his readers his liberal view of Islam Also he preached patriotism and felt that India must become free to develop in its own way

As a young man Azad proved himself an extraordinary type of a Muslim gentleman in spite of the orthodox background, and strongly felt that his religionists though a minority, must be able to work themselves up amidst the majority community of the Hindus

When the guarantee (i e , the security deposit) of the *Al-Hilal* was confiscated, he started the *Al-Balagh* But the Bengal Government expelled him in 1916 , all other Governments, except those of Bombay and Bihar, refused to admit him , and he settled at Ranchi, where he was soon interned by Government order

The great liberalism with which he expounded the *Quran* was not liked by many of his community and the charge against him was that in spite of being a staunch Musalman he believed in the latent and universal truth of all creeds The admirable quality of Azad was, he loved Islam and followed Quran according to its interpretation but was extremely tolerant of other religions He was somewhat like Akbar the great or Kabir the saint and this noble stand was admired by many and this stood him well in life though he fell a victim to the criticism of the bigots of his religion He had a wide vision

About religion and science the learned Moulana Azad wrote

'Philosophy can open the door of doubt, but will not be able to close it again Science can give proofs, but cannot provide faith Religion can give faith, but cannot give proofs For our life here below we require demonstrated truths, but faith is also necessary We are unable to remain content with things that we have proved, we also want something which we cannot prove but which we believe in

Prof Mohammed Habib writes

'Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was really a progressive revolutionary and a believer in true freedom, but he is classed among the *Ulema* on account of his religious learning in which he over-topped them all He was also a nationalist because he believed that the basis of the *Quran* was not theological hatred but humanity, and prescribed correct moral relations between human beings in spite of their different religions

Azad was a great patriot and a staunch fighter for the freedom of his country and the tempo of his feeling is best revealed in the following which he wrote in his *Al-Hilal*

"My resolve is not to seek a task, but to seek first men to do it In this world, there never was any lack of tasks But there has always been a dearth of men to undertake them The present age is an age of wars All round us are hosts of enemies, and there is not a single corner where armours do not ring So, there is no lack of fields for action Those who possess the spirit of a soldier and the courage of a hero must come out to face life as they find it and face its trials I assert once again that there is no lack of tasks What we really lack among us are patriots and fighters"

In the pages of *Al-Hilal,* he had already powerfully advanced the view that the solution for the Muslim problem in India lay in a hearty co-operation in politics with their Hindu brethren

Writes Syed Mahommed

> "That was the time when Mahatma Gandhiji entered the political arena in India Maulana met him for the first time during that year at Delhi The occasion was the assemblage of Hindu and Moslem leaders to consider the question of forming a joint deputation to wait upon the Viceroy The manner in which Maulana Azad opposed the move and recommended instead absolute non-co-operation with the British Government was so well appreciated by Mahatma Gandhi that a bond of lasting friendship was forged at once between the two mighty minds From 1920 till Mahatmaji's tragic death in 1948, the two marched hand in hand together to victory"

In philosophy of life, more than in his patriotism, courage and liberalism of faith, Azad was far superior to Jawaharlal though his work and activities were less publicised, and he shunned limelight and publicity with religiosity and thus proved an exact counterpart of Jawaharlal

Besides, the great works he wrote while in detention in Ranchi mostly abound in liberal and immaculate interpretations of Quran The following statement of his on his trial in 1921 along with C R Das in Calcutta will make a historic document, and also reveal the breadth of his vision and depth of his thinking

> "Praise be to God Unique
>
> I had no intention to give any verbal or written statement here This is a place where we have neither any hopes to cherish, nor any desires to wish, nor even any complaints to make This is only a turnstill without passing through which we cannot reach our destination Therefore, for a short while, we are obliged to break our journey here Had it not been so, we would have gone straightaway to jail
>
> History bears witness that whenever the ruling class took up arms against freedom and truth, the law courts served as the most convenient and unfailing weapons for them Next to battlefields, the greatest acts of injustice in the world have

been committed in the law courts Right from the revered founders of religions to those who have laboured in the field of science to bring comfort to human life, there was no noble group of men who were not produced as criminals before the courts of unjust governments I admit that the terrible Roman courts of the second century, of the mysterious inquisitions of the Middle Ages do not exist any more But I am not prepared to admit that human nature in our times has been purged of the emotions under which those courts worked

I confess that I have used similar or even more emphatic language not merely in the two speeches under review, but in several other speeches as well which I have had to deliver during the course of the last two years To speak in that strain is an imperative duty for me, and I cannot desist from discharging it simply because of the threat that it would be regarded a crime under Section 124-A I want to repeat that language even now, and will go on repeating it so long as I can talk And if I do not so, I shall consider myself guilty of a heinous crime

I believe that liberty is the birthright of every nation and individual No man, nor any man-made bureaucracy, possesses the right to enslave human beings Howsoever attractive the names that we may coin, slavery will remain slavery all the same It is imposed on man by man against the will of God Therefore, I refuse to accept the present Government as a rightful government, and consequently think it to be a national, religious and human duty to relieve my country and nation of their servitude

I am a Musalman, and as such, my religious duty is the same Islam does not recognize any autocracy or bureaucracy It came in to restore the lost freedom of humanity, the freedom which had been confiscated by kings, foreign governments, selfish religious leaders, and powerful elements of society The autocrats thought that might was right, but Islam proclaimed from its very birth that might was not right It swept off all racial and national distinctions and showed the world at large that all human beings held an equal rank, and all possessed equal rights It proclaimed that excellence did not lie in race,

nationality or colour It was only righteous action which counted, and the noblest among men was he who did his work most righteously

Such was the charter of human rights issued eleven hundred years before the French Revolution It was not a mere pronouncement, but a practical order of life which was set up and which, in the words of the historian Gibbon, has no equal

In this world evil like 'good' desires to live However much we may dislike 'evil', we cannot condemn its urge to live The struggle for survival between the two has already begun in India, and this is by no means an extraordinary phenomenon If in the eyes of bureaucracy, it is a crime to struggle for freedom and righteousness and those, who in the name of justice are out to put an end to their unjustified presence in the land, are to be regarded as criminals and punished, then I confess that I am a criminal I am one of those who have sown the seed of this crime in the heart of the people, and have devoted their whole life to water the plant I am the first among the Moslems of India to invite in 1920 the entire nation to indulge in this crime, and have within three years roused in them the urge to come out of the maze in which the craftiness of the Government had wilfully kept them My firm conviction is that I should preach this gospel as a matter of sacred duty I cannot abstain from discharging it simply because Section 124-A terms it a crime Even now, I say what I have said before, and will go on repeating it so long as I have any breath left in me

My Magistrate!

I shall not take any more time of the Court It is a very interesting and instructive chapter of history which we both are equally busy in preparing While I get the criminal's dock, to you comes the magisterial seat, but I admit that for this work your seat is as much important as this dock Come then, let us finish quickly this memorable act which is soon to become a legend The historian is watching us Allow me to occupy this place repeatedly and you may also go on writing

your judgments as often The process will continue for some time, and then the gates of another court will open wide That will be the Court of Lord where Time will act as Judge It will pass the judgment, and that will be the final Judgment

And praise be to God in the beginning and in the end "

When his father died in 1909, his huge following came to acclaim Maulana Azad as his successor and offered *Nazars* or gifts Maulana would not accept the *Nazars* He said that these gifts, which were mostly in the form of money presents, should go back to the poorer among their families, and he adhered to this attitude throughout his life In the most trying moments of life, he would not communicate even to the most intimate of his friends that he was in straightened circumstances Whatever came to him through his own exertion he shared with the less fortunate around him even in the days of his Ministership He was averse to keeping anything for himself for the morrow The old proverb held good in his case The left hand did not know what the right hand gave away He was very unhappy when he was reminded by anyone of the favours received at his hands

Another trait which distinguished Maulana was his aversion to speak harshly of those who had shown harshness to him in life Everyone knows how a section of the Moslems always treated him for his criticism of the weaknesses which had crept into Islam and which a good many Moslems cherished as religion Never for once did he answer the gibes levelled at him Mr Jinnah's behaviour towards him is well-known, but never for a moment would he think of retaliating—wrote Syed Mahmud who knew Azad intimately

All those who knew Azad by his qualities of his head and heart loved him Since Azad joined the Congress and

came under Gandhiji he was twice elected as President of the Congress, and he was also member of the Parliamentary Election Committee of the Congress He was absolutely trustworthy and strong in his convictions But unfortunately his passionate calls to his co-religionists went unheeded, and he was most unhappy when partition became a fact in 1947 Here then was a Moulana Azad, a great divine, a great scholar, a great orator in Urdu and a great fighter for national freedom

Unlike Jawaharlal, Azad was not given to speak too much and often He preferred to be a great thinker and act quietly

In his book *India Wins Freedom* Azad attempts to make it clear that with a little tact and liberalism on the part of Jawaharlal the partition of India could have been avoided His view is that both in 1937 and in 1946 Jawaharlal blundered seriously on the communal representation and agreement

If Jawaharlal had agreed in 1937 to take two Muslims into the Congress Ministry in the U P as was requested by Azad and Choudri Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan, the two Muslim League leaders in U P the Muslims would have gained confidence in the Congress and the Muslim League would have weakened

Again in 1946 when the Cabinet Mission came to India to settle the communal tangle between the Hindus and Muslims before declaring independence, Azad as the Congress President had solved the communal problem on the basis of a federal government for the undivided India, the centre having a minimum list of compulsory subjects and an additional list of optional ones and the States functioning with autonomy in all other matters This solution of Azad was agreed to by the Congress Working Committee, the

Muslim League and the Cabinet Commission and everything was found satisfactory However afterwards when immediately Jawaharlal became the President of the Congress he put a peculiar construction on the agreed resolution for communal unity and thus opened out a cleavage between the two communities Jinnah taking advantage of Jawaharlal wavering indecisive methods, fanned up his followers with a feeling that the Congress was undependable and they must have a separate homeland, the Pakistan

Of Jawaharlal, Azad writes " His fondness for abstract theory was responsible for his statement about the Constituent Assembly The same theoretical bias led him to commit a similar mistake in 1937, when the first elections were held under the Government of India Act, 1935 "

The part played by Azad on behalf of the Congress was by no means insignificant Both in the Cabinet Mission plan discussions and in the formation of interim Government during 1946, he took a leading part as one of the members of the Congress Parliamentary Committee along with Jawaharlal, Patel and Rajendra Prasad

Azad tendered advices of a highly tactical type, but Jawaharlal and his group did not take them seriously Azad strongly felt that Jawaharlal often acted on impulse He writes, " As a rule Jawaharlal was open to persuasion but sometimes he makes up his mind without taking all the facts into consideration Once Jawaharlal has done so, he tends to go ahead regardless of what the consequences may be "

At the time of forming the interim government the Congress had the advantage of selection of the portfolios

> " In all countries, the Minister in charge of Finance plays a key role in the Government In India, his position was even more important, for the British Government had treated the Finance Member as the custodian of its interests This was a

portfolio which had always been held by an Englishman specially brought to India for the purpose The Finance Member could interfere in every Department and dictate policy When Liaqat Ali became the Finance Member, he obtained possession of the key to Government Every proposal of every Department was subject to scrutiny by his Department In addition he had the power of veto Not a chaprasi could be appointed in any Department without the sanction of his Department

Sardar Patel had been very anxious about retaining the Home Membership Now he realized that he had played into the hands of the League by offering it Finance Whatever proposal he made was either rejected or modified beyond recognition by Liaqat Ali His persistent interference made it difficult for any Congress Member to function effectively Internal dissentions broke out within the Government and went on increasing

Azad strongly advised Jawaharlal to see that the Finance portfolio should be held by the Congress, but his advice was overlooked and the Congress gave away the Finance portfolio to the Muslim League, and faced serious difficulties

The following statement in Azad's book *India Wins Freedom* will appear to support the view that sometimes Jawaharlal acted stubbornly and in a foolhardy way He overestimated his popularity in certain areas

'The North-West Frontier Province had an overwhelming majority of Muslims, both in 1937 and since 1946, the Ministry there was dominated by Congress Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgars were mainly responsible for this happy state of affairs In fact, we had become accustomed to depend on Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his brother Dr Khan Saheb in all matters concerning the Frontier Province

Soon after the Interim Government was formed, orders were issued for the stopping of the aerial bombardment of tribesmen in South Waziristan In the meantime, Jawaharlal

was receiving official reports that a large section of the people in the Frontier were against Congress and the Khan brothers Local officers repeatedly said that the Congress had largely lost local support and that the people had transferred their loyalty from Congress to the League Jawaharlal was of the view that these reports were not correct and were fabricated by British officers who were against Congress Lord Wavell did not agree with Jawaharlal, though he did not either accept the official reports, *in toto* His view was that the Frontier was almost equally divided between the Khan brothers and the Muslim League The impression in Congress circles was that the overwhelming majority of the people were with the Khan brothers Jawaharlal said that he would tour the Frontier and assess the situation for himself

When I heard this, I told Jawaharlal that he should not take any hasty action It was difficult to know what the exact situation in the Frontier was There were factions in every province and there was bound to be a group opposed to the Khan brothers Congress had just assumed office in the Centre and had not yet consolidated its position His tour of the Frontier at this stage would give the dissident elements an opportunity of organizing their opposition to Congress Since a majority of the officials were also against the Congress, they would sympathize with, if not actively support, these opposition elements It would therefore be better if he postponed his visit till a more appropriate time Gandhiji supported my view but Jawaharlal insisted and said that whatever be the consequences, he would go

The Khan brothers were certainly right in claiming that a large section of the people in the Frontier supported them They had however, exaggerated the extent of their influence This was natural, for one invariably overestimates one s own strength Perhaps they also wished to impress on us that while there were differences in other provinces the Frontier was solidly with Congress In fact, however, there was quite a powerful group against the Khan brothers Dr Khan Saheb s terms of office as Chief Minister had given additional strength to such opposition He had the opportunity of winning over the

entire province, but he had committed mistakes which had added to the strength of the opposition

Some of the mistakes were of a purely personal and social nature The Frontier Pathan is famous for his hospitality He is willing to share the last piece of his bread with a guest and his table is open to everyone He expects similar hospitality from others and especially from those who occupy any high position in society Nothing alienates a Pathan more than miserliness and lack of generosity Unfortunately, this was the respect in which the Khan brothers fell very short of the expectation of their followers

The Khan brothers were well-to-do, but unfortunately they were not hospitable by temperament They hardly ever invited anybody to their table even after Dr Khan Saheb became Chief Minister If people came to them at tea or dinner time, they were never asked to stay for the meal Their miserliness extended even to public funds spent under their direction During the General Elections, Congress placed large amounts at their disposal, but the Khan brothers spent as little as possible out of these funds Many candidates lost in the elections because they did not receive sufficient or timely help Later, when they came to know that the funds were lying idle, these men became bitter enemies of the Khans

On one occasion, some men from Peshawar came to see me in Calcutta in connexion with the election funds As it was tea-time I offered them tea and biscuits Several members of the deputation looked at the biscuits with surprise One took up a biscuit and asked me its name They seemed to enjoy the biscuits and then they told me that they had seen such biscuits in Dr Khan Saheb s house, but he had never offered biscuits or even a cup of tea to any of them!

The actual position in 1946 was that the Khan brothers did not enjoy as much support in the Frontier as we in Delhi thought When Jawaharlal reached Peshawar, this discovery came to him with an unpleasant shock Dr Khan Saheb was then the Chief Minister of the province and the Ministry was a Congress Ministry I have already said that the British officers were against Congress and had aroused public feeling against the Ministry When Jawaharlal landed at the airport,

he found thousands of Pathans massed there carrying black flags and shouting anti slogans Dr Khan Saheb and other Ministers who had come to receive Jawaharlal were themselves under police protection and proved completely ineffective As Jawaharlal emerged, slogans were raised against him and some people in the mob tried to attack his car Dr Khan Saheb was so worried that he took out his revolver and threatened to shoot Only under this threat did the crowd gave away The cars had to proceed under police escort

The next day Jawaharlal left Peshawar for a tour of the tribal areas He found everywhere a large section of the people against him The Maliks of Waziristan were largely responsible for the demonstrations against him In some places his car was stoned and Jawaharlal was once hit on the forehead'

It is interesting to note that while Azad, a Muslim patriot and leader was dead against partition, Jawaharlal and Patel had decided in favour of it, since their experience in the interim government made them feel that it would be impossible to run the government with the Muslim leaguers as their partners in the administration of the country The partition affected Bengal and the Punjab most and the Congress leaders from these provinces were dead against partition as they understood what that would mean to their provinces

Gandhiji promised to support Azad and said, ' If Congress wishes to accept partition, it will be over my dead body So long as I am alive I will never agree to the partition of India Nor will I, if I can help it, allow Congress to accept it"

The wisdom of Jawaharlal and Patel in the matter of the partition, we leave it to our readers to judge

All honour to Azad for his steadfast loyalty to the Congress in spite of odds against him May his soul rest in peace in Heaven!



A great Patriot Parliamentarian

9 Syama Prasad Mookerji and Jawaharlal

Born in Calcutta on 6th July, 1901 of a great father Sir Ashutosh Mookerji, Syama Prasad graduated from the Presidency College, Calcutta with honours in English standing first in 1st Class In 1923 he passed his M A and next year his B L, enrolled himself as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court, of which his father was for some time one of the Judges

Two years later Syama Prasad went to England for a further study of law and was called to the English Bar in 1927

Syama Prasad's father Sir Ashutosh Mookerji was not only a jurist but a great educationist and was one of the makers of Modern Bengal During his time as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Ashutosh fostered the genius in persons like S Radhakrishnan, C V Raman and other Indian savants, who have since achieved international fame

Syama Prasad lost his wife in 1933, and from that time he made up his mind to dedicate his time and energies for the good of the country as a whole He got elected

to the Bengal Legislative Council as a Congress candidate in 1929 but resigned his seat the next year when the Congress decided to boycott the Legislatures

As Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he carried and extended the work of his father, so that it maintained its leading position in the country's higher learning and research

Though he was a Congressman for some time he found out there was not much scope for constructive work at that time particularly in his province The mainspring of Congress nationalism was more political than cultural, more negative and anti-British than positive or creative Young Syama Prasad was more attracted by Dr Hedgewar, founder of the Rashtria Swayam Sevak Sangh and Veer V D Savarkar the latter of whom was just then released from his internment in his home district of Ratnagiri

Syama Prasad's public work in the cause of education was well recognised and both the Universities of Benares and Calcutta conferred on him the LL D Degree during 1938 He was also elected a member of the Court and Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore and became Chairman of the Inter-University Board and nominated by the Government of India to the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation and League of Nations He was very different from Jawaharlal and proved an intellectual giant and a constructive genius When the communal question as handled by the Congress led to Pakistan he became one of the most vigorous exponents of our ancient religion and cultural heritage as he found that it was exposed to new dangers from within

In 1943 Syama Prasad, a true son of a great father, he was elected President of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal He was the first Indian to be given that honour

He was for national unity but found that the bankruptcy of statesmanship on the part of the Congress was driving all Muslim members of the Assembly into the fold of the Muslim League As Finance Minister for a time in the Fazal-ul-Huque Cabinet in Bengal, he showed considerable tact and statesmanship in handling the Muslim League in Bengal and safeguarding Hindu interests

Soon after his resignation from the Bengal Cabinet terrible riots broke out in Dacca engineered by the Muslim League and the British officials, but with intrepid courage and at great personal risk, he went to Dacca to see things for himself just as he did later in Kashmir

At Dacca the police would not give him escort Syama Prasad however dashed to the palace of the Nawab of Dacca, the President of Muslim League, from where the whole carnage was planned The whole of Dacca — Muslims and Hindus — were amazed at his courage and came to respect him When the Constituent Assembly was formed in 1946 he was elected to it from Bengal He was for some time President of the Hindu Mahasabha

When the first National Government of Free India was formed, Syama Prasad was included in it to meet the desire of Gandhiji who felt that as Freedom was won by the combined efforts of all the nationalist forces in the country, the new Government must be a truly national government and not a party government

The first set of Ministers for the National Government were made of persons in their individual capacity for the talents and eminence in the different fields of national life and not as representative of parties

Syama Prasad had developed a distrust of and contempt for Congress leaders who had betrayed the country by accepting partition He was surprised at the invitation to

join the Cabinet However, as he stood for responsive co-operation, since he was a democrat by instinct and nature Although the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory, the Sindri Fertiliser Factory and the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, all in the public sector were organised and enlarged by him successfully, he was for mobilising all available resources in the country, giving full scope and freedom for private enterprise

It often happened that in the Cabinet meetings he had to disagree with Jawaharlal but his bold stand was appreciated by Patel and other members

Syama Prasad disagreed with Jawaharlal on India's relationship with Pakistan, mishandling of the Kashmir question, formulating Congress policies like a dictator and hence resigned from the Central Cabinet

It was Jawaharlal's showing cold feet in the matter of dealing with Liaqat Ali Khan (who was invited by Jawaharlal for a discussion when his hands were dripping with the blood of countless Hindus in East Pakistan murdered by the Muslims) that made Syama Prasad, severely disagree with the Prime Minister and quit the Cabinet

In a statement made before the Parliament on 19th April, 1950, giving reasons why he could not be a party to Nehru-Liaqat agreement he said

> "Let us not forget that the Hindus of East Bengal are entitled to the protection of India not on humanitarian considerations alone, but by virtue of their sufferings and sacrifices, made cheerfully for generations, not advancing their own parochial interests, but for laying the foundations of India's political freedom and intellectual progress It is the united voice of the leaders that are dead and of the youth that smilingly walked up to the gallows for India's cause that call for justice and fairplay at the hands of free India today"

In spite of all tall talks by Jawaharlal about liberties the people and sympathies for the helpless, he committed major blunder by proclaiming secularism for India While e Congress was forming a secular state here, the Muslim eague was forming a religious state across the frontier ith a little commonsense Jawaharlal could have imagined hat consequences such a difference between the neighbours, ie secular and the other religious would have followed ther both India and Pakistan are religious states each llowing a religion or both should be secular states itain also is responsible for all the human butchery for ving allowed the partition without a complete exchange population on the basis of religion For the terrible rnage that followed in the wake of the partition, both waharlal and Patel, who were impatient to get into seats power, and the Britishers who were careless about the fety of the lives of the minority in the different states, are iswerable to posterity

Syama Prasad's resignation from the Central Cabinet eated a great stir in the country He had exposed to the iblic even during 1950 the cavalier manner in which Jawa-irlal was conducting the affairs of the country through a adow cabinet, just in the same way C D Deshmukh terwards exposed Jawaharlal during 1956, much to the nazement and disgust of the thinking public in India any were the attempts made by the Congress to belittle ama Prasad's resignation from the Cabinet as a trifling fair but the people in Delhi hailed Syama Prasad as a itriotic, brave and conscientious minister and a grand ception was given to him

Some of the independent minded Congressmen in irliament were glad that Syama Prasad was out of the

Cabinet, for he was expected to and did indeed make a good opposition leader in the house

Subsequent events proved Syama Prasad's loss to the Cabinet was a great gain to the country Whenever the Congress wanted to carry out anything in Parliament not advantageous to the country as a whole, but appeared fanciful, appealing only to Jawaharlal, up rose the giant and with his high intellect who opposed the motion in a language of moving eloquence, incisive logic, and irrefutable argument

As the chief of the Hindu Mahasabha, Syama Prasad wanted to open its doors to all citizens of India irrespective of caste and creed, but as the executives would not agree to this, he resigned his position as its chief and organised a new political party the Bharatiya Jana Sangh or the Peoples Party of India on 9th September, 1951 The Presidents, secretaries and workers of the provincial Jana Sanghs of the Punjab, Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and Bengal were elected, and it became an All-India Party Out of love and regard for Syama Prasad, all the members present pressed him to take up the lead for the Jana Sangh, and he was made the President of this organisation In his first Presidential speech he said of Jana Sangh

> "It is coming into existence not merely to fight the forthcoming elections but our party must continue to function thereafter carrying a message of hope and goodwill to all classes of people and trying to draw out from them their best efforts in re building a happier and more prosperous free India One of the chief reasons for the manifestation of dictatorship in Congress rule is the absence of well-organised opposition parties which alone can act as a healthy check on the majority party and can hold out before the country the prospective of an alternative government
>
> Bharatiya Jana Sangh emerges today as an All-India

Political Party which will function as the principal party in opposition Opposition does not mean senseless or destructive approach to all problems that confront responsible Government While, therefore, we may have to attack or criticise official measures of acts, our aim will be to approach all problems in a constructive spirit so that we may keep the public vigilant and make our humble contribution in developing a real democratic structure for the sound administration of our country

We have thrown our party open to all citizens of India irrespective of caste, creed or community While we recognise that in matters of customs, habits, religion and language Bharat presents a unique diversity, the people must be united by a bond of fellowship and understanding inspired by deep devotion and loyalty to the spirit of a common motherland

While it will be dangerous to encourage the growth of political minorities on the basis of caste and religion, it is obviously for the vast majority of Bharat s population to assure all classes of people, who are truly loyal to their motherland that they will be entitled to full protection under the law and to complete equality of treatment in all matters, social, economic and political Our party gives this assurance unreservedly

Our party is against concentration of economic power in the hands of small groups and cartels Sanctity of private property will be observed and private enterprise will be given a fair and adequate play subject to national welfare State ownership and State control will be exercised when found necessary in public interests The party will stand for progressive decontrol Social and economic exploitation must be checked, distribution must be fair and equitable and an atmosphere created so that all may jointly work for increased production

Syama Prasad's view about India's foreign policy was that " it should be more realistic, primary consideration being the advancement of the cause of our own country and the maintenance of peace and goodwill in the international sphere " We believe " in democracy and in the maintenance

of civil liberties We are against totalitarianism of any kind whatsoever We recognise that every nation must have the right to shape its national policy and attitude towards life according to the genius and traditions of the people themselves Bharat's message to the world has been the doctrine of 'live and let live' So long as India's right to determine her own way of life is not interfered with, there is no reason why we should not maintain friendly relations with all other countries "

The general elections of 1952 came in shortly after the advent of Jana Sangh, and it had only a few months left for the election work The tireless work of Syama Prasad and his party saw the election to Parliament and the Assemblies a few members of their party, and it was recognised thereafter as an All-India Party It has a burning lamp for its symbol

This time when the new Parliament opened on 11th May, 1953 Syama Prasad was the leader of the opposition virtually even without the requisite strength His abilities as a Parliamentarian were recognised even by other smaller parties and they considered him as their chief spokesman and conceded to him the right to reply on behalf of the opposition He became a real democratic adversary of the Government on account of his stature and acumen as a statesman He displayed enormous Parliamentary skill and tact, and his constructive criticism was appreciated even by his opponents

Syama Prasad was the only man then in Parliament to stand foursquare to Jawaharlal and prove how the latter was wrong in some matters relating to domestic and foreign policies

As a great statesman, Syama Prasad was able to sense trouble in Kashmir He understood the various forces then

at work in Kashmir from India He was convinced that all was not well with Abdullah, the erstwhile friend of Jawaharlal, as he was trying to become a dictator himself as Jawaharlal was succeeding in India, and Abdullah started insidiously to resist the jurisdiction of the Indian Parliament over the Kashmir State

As a true patriot he appealed strongly yet persuasively to Jawaharlal to solve the Kashmir problem boldly and once for all, but Jawaharlal would not The question came before Parliament and when Jawaharlal said ‘I know more about Kashmir than Dr Mookerji’, Syama Prasad with his certain knowledge about the forces working then in Kashmir replied ‘The whole difficulty is that the Prime Minister knows more about anything throughout the world than anybody else and he will not accept any advice from anybody Now, how can any Parliamentary work be carried on if that is the attitude If I make any suggestion he says “I know more than you do” Undoubtedly he does, but I will give some suggestions, place some point of view before him which he must consider’

‘I would like to know, are Kashmiris Indian first and Kashmiris next or they are Kashmiris first and Indian next, or they are Kashmiris first, second and third and not Indian at all? That is a very important point which we have to settle’

Again on another occasion Syama Prasad brought to the notice of Jawaharlal the heavy exodus of the Hindus from East Pakistan The Prime Minister refused to believe, that Hindus in East Pakistan were in danger

Then followed the following passage at arms in Parliament

Prime Minister	Was my statement wrong ?
Syama Prasad	It is wrong Let the Prime Minister instead of depending on the reports of his
Prime Minister	If I place the whole facts and exact figures
Syama Prasad	The general statement and approach of the Prime Minister were absolutely wrong It is a matter of verification What I suggest to him is this He may get some figures from official sources I cannot blame him for that But if any Hon'ble Member gets up and says that he has information that the exodus has started, it is the duty of a responsible Prime Minister to get up and say We will take that into consideration and see how to prevent it
Prime Minister	The Hon ble Member is challenging my statement
Syama Prasad	I am not
Prime Minister	I challenge him to prove his and I will prove mine
Syama Prasad	This challenge and counter challenge will be carried on for the whole of the session

Again when after the 1952 elections, Syama Prasad brought to the notice of the House the corrupt behaviour of the Congress party during the election campaigns, the following was the repartee between the two

Syama Prasad	I am glad the Prime Minister said it is disgraceful It is indeed disgraceful that such things should happen
Prime Minister	Is it right that in the course of this debate the Hon'ble Member should bring these charges ? To make these wild, irresponsible and fantastic charges is perfectly disgraceful for the Hon Member This itself shows the nature of his entire speech
Syama Prasad	Good, very good

Prime Minister	The mentality behind it, the irresponsibility behind it
Syama Prasad	His temper shows more than anything else his incapacity to rule over this country Let us not cloud the issue
Prime Minister	I ask the Hon Gentleman I challenge him to either prove or withdraw his remark about wine and women
Syama Prasad	I said money and wine I do not know whether women were used, but I never used the word ' women
Prime Minister	I challenge the Hon Member to prove his irresponsible statement
Syama Prasad	There is no use loosing any temper
Prime Minister	It is only the Hon Member's right, I suppose, to lose his temper and say these things
Syama Prasad	It is the eternal right of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's always to lose his temper and our eternal duty to submit to it

If Azad was Muslim with a heroic strain of nationalism, Syama Prasad was nationalist with a strong sense of his Hindu roots and memories and outlook Not the least of the disservices rendered by Jawaharlal to the cause of the country has been his immoderate denunciation of Hinduism as a manifestation of rampant communalism Jawaharlal has shut his eyes to the stubborn facts of Indian history, and has taken it into his head that the Hindu majority of the land should forget its part as a condition of its survival in the future The communalism of the Muslims has helped them to get Pakistan, but he has not cared to ponder the inevitable reactions of it on the thinking sections of the Hindus, who have been the leaders and custodians of the complex and priceless heritage

The Kashmir condition was worsening every day In spite of the eloquent and able appeals to the Prime Minister,

he did nothing The Prime Minister took any interference in Kashmir by any other, as against his personal prestige Abdullah by now began to proceed on the basis that Kashmir was an independent State but acceded to India only for the limited purposes of defence, foreign affairs and communication Meantime the Dogras of Jammu began satyagraha against the policy pursued by Abdullah

But all the same the Prime Minister did nothing except get reports from untrustworthy persons Meantime the Prime Minister made an agreement with Abdullah giving him concessions quite derogatory to the Indian Government It has always been difficult for Jawaharlal to distinguish foes from friends!

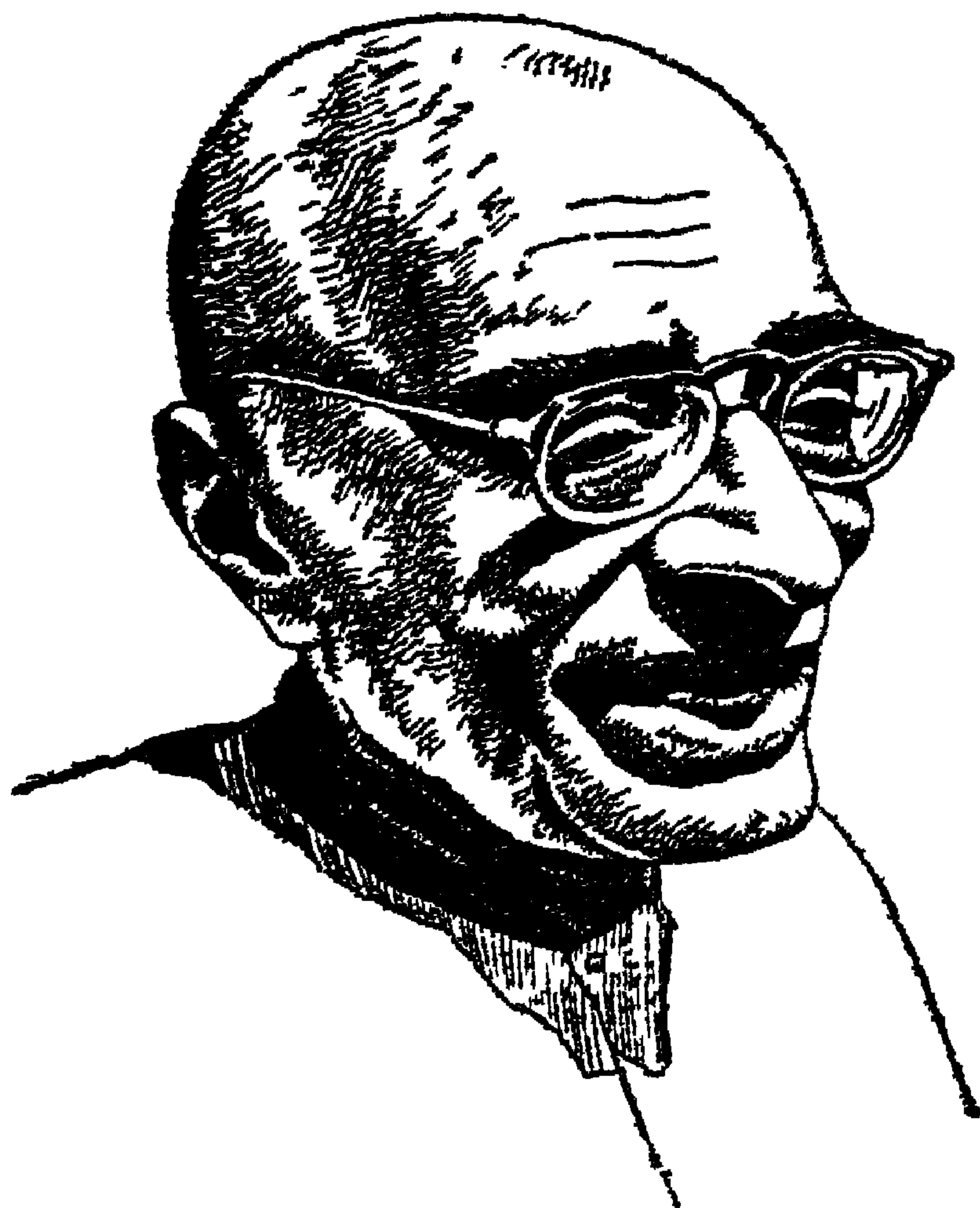
The net result was Syama Prasad made up his mind to visit Kashmir himself Abdullah imprisoned him and kept him in detention in a lonely place and our illustrious leader passed away in Kashmir under very strange circumstances His passing was a great loss to our country Subsequent events in Kashmir and Abdullah's treachery should have proved to Jawaharlal what a true and great patriot Syama Prasad was Here was an intellectual giant, a protagonist of democracy and freedom of the individual When comes such another!

A giant has departed lo' the sun
Of a colossal intellect has set,
The giants are departing one by one
To whom our mourning nation owes a debt
Incalculable debt shall be paid
With understanding in the waging strife —
We dare not rest until our hands have made
A mighty structure of our nation's life
He gave us the impression of a tree

With thoughts about him like to foliage packed —
How often we agreed to disagree
Yet kept our merry friendship all intact
We laughed and jested, at each other sent
Ironic repartee like arrows hurled
When we discussed affairs of Parliament
And several sorry problems of the world
We saw not eye to eye in many things
And yet we were the very best of friends —
Yes — mighty eagle ! now fold up your wings
Since suddenly your weary journey ends
How swiftly you have gone out of our reach,
The sudden cancellation of a peak —
Friend ! we shall miss your presence, and your speech
Which thundered every time you rose to speak
How shall our grief in language be expressed
And how shall we forget this mournful day ?
" The jail is an ideal place for rest "
Is what you said before you went away
Now shall you rest for centuries to come,
High Oratory, packed with lightning flashes,
Shall, like a secret statue, cold and dumb,
Sit on the monument which hides your ashes

The above was the tribute paid by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya on the death of Dr Syama Prasad Mookerji on the 23rd June, 1953 at Srinagar, Kashmir

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The Elder Statesman

10 Rajaji and Jawaharlal

In what may be termed the Gandhian circle of dedicated patriots and intellectuals who fought the battle for freedom in the final phase, it may be said without exaggeration that C Rajagopalachari popularly known as Rajaji occupied a place closest to the Centre—which was Gandhiji He had none of the natural or adventitious advantages which help men to a front place in life He was of course high-born in the sense of belonging to a Brahmin family An early collegiate career led him to the practice of law in which he at once made a notable mark Here again, he shone as a luminary from a remote mofussil centre, and not from Madras But his fame, specially as a criminal lawyer, spread through many districts, and he was much in request throughout Tamil Nad So prosperous was he that he was

one of the earliest — if not the first in the mofussil to go in for a motor car — a wonder vehicle in the early years of this century

With forensic success came the opportunity for shouldering civic responsibility As Chairman of the Salem Municipal Council he showed a power of administration and of initiating and executing improvements in the municipal sphere which are now part of the enduring amenities of that town Even in those days, he was sparing of speech, suiting what he said to what he did, and thus cultivating a balanced enlightened view of life and conduct

When the call for N C O came, he was among the first to turn his back on his ripening career He was not young when he made the decision to join the movement He had a family to provide for, the more so as his children were deprived of their mother early But the call of the country gripped him, and he started an Ashram of weavers, workers and devotees of Gandhism at Tiruchengode which soon became a sort of Southern Sabarmati Gandhiji picked him out quite early, and took him to assist him in the conduct of the All-India struggle One of the assignments of Rajaji in those days was to edit *Young India* during the periods of Gandhiji's imprisonment or illness or touring of the country That opportunity enabled him to present himself to the country as a rare gifted, incisive and thoughtful writer who burned with a flame which was gem-like and pure He did a great deal to rationalise and methodize the varied utterances of Gandhiji on his new cult of Ahimsa and C D ethics In pursuance of Congress directives, he too went to prison, and employed his leisure hours there in the composition of his books ranging from short-stories to philosophic dissertations and commentaries on Upanishads and our epics

As a writer, he has greater range than Jawaharlal and also greater depth For while Jawaharlal is obsessed with politics — whether he is rediscovering India or revealing his life, Rajaji is one of the great contributors to the revival of Tamil in modern conditions, his name is a household word throughout Tamil Nad, while his English writings have brought him an all-India vogue which at least equals that of Jawaharlal

In the first clash of ideologies inside the Congress between no-changers and prochangers, Rajaji was even more orthodox than Gandhiji himself, for he saw through the gift of dyarchy and would not have anything to do with it In the next phase, that is after 1937, when provincial autonomy was offered, and Congress decided to work it, Gandhiji chose Rajaji to lead the then composite state of Madras, much to the surprise of almost all local worthies For Rajaji had been conspicuous for his studious self-effacement, scholarly and philosophic outlook and an almost ascetic temper It was clearly a case of the office going in search of the man, instead of, as more frequently happens, the man in frantic search of office

He has something more distinctive than all we have touched so far He was an aristocrat, not so much by birth as by what we call our age-long samskaras His preference for a life of isolation, his dislike of the limelight and his cultivated selflessness of outlook were not the sort of virtues usually associated with politicians aspiring for power or eager to hold on to office Because of his confessedly pre-eminent qualifications, no voice of dissent or dissatisfaction was raised, and everyone looked forward to see how he would acquit himself in office power For one of the oft-repeated charges against the agitators was, that they might raise the rabble easily enough, but that the deli-

cate tasks of administration called for endowments and virtues of an altogether different kind Both admirers and rivals were silenced by the manner in which Rajaji administered the affairs of Madras He did not throw the baby with the bath-water, but used the administrative machine in such a way as to reorientate it to the tasks of national government Integrity and purity he maintained if he did not enhance them, and won the plaudits of friends and foes alike He thus established a model of what a popular minister should do to further the interests of the public

When Congress decided to withdraw from the government on the outbreak of the second world-war, he was the first to resign though he did not approve of the step ordered by the Congress High Command But when the domestic communal situation developed adversely to the national interest, he raised his voice in support of any scheme which would save the Union of India He thus offered to give the Muslim League the substance of provincial autonomy if they would agree to a Centre to administer a few major functions He supported the Cripps' proposals and went to the extent of breaking with Gandhiji himself — a thing which none of the other leaders had ever dared to do In spite of his heresy, Gandhiji never lost his regard for his character and admiration for his intellectual gifts, for he welcomed him back to the fold and campaigned for his resumption of the leadership of the Congress party in Madras Of no other leader of those times or these, can it be said that he had more independence and courage of conviction than Rajaji

In all these developments of the personality and role of Rajaji in All-India politics, it was his misfortune — and perhaps the country's too — that the South did not pull its full weight in the National Council The prestige that came

to Jawaharlal via Gandhiji, and the saint's own unique hold on popular imagination to the last, gave a weightage to the North in national policies which might have a quantitative but not qualitative justification Per contra, it has also to be admitted that Rajaji could never organise a party to offer a serious challenge to the Congress from the inside, for by training and temper he has none of the demagogue's assets He is simple, unadorned, but can be pungent and witty — both of which are apt to over-reach their mark where the masses are concerned Above all, the time-spirit was against him, as indeed it was against all counsels of prudence, moderation and compromise

Rajaji did not oppose Jawaharlal directly at any time on his own responsibility or with his own weight He registered along with Patel and Prasad his dissent from Jawaharlal's socialism and resigned from the *Working Committee*, only to rejoin it when others did The solatium of being the last Governor-General of India under the British era was a tempting irrelevance which he could not resist, for it shut his mouth effectively over the burning questions that came in the wake of Independence His subsequent role as a Central Cabinet Minister was, by contrast, mediocre if not pedestrian, for he did nothing to justify his abilities and opportunities The measures of decontrol which he passed at the instance of Gandhiji were not given sufficient time to justify themselves, for the clamour for them became fanatically insistent His exit from the Centre must have been a relief as much to himself as it might well have been to Jawaharlal When in power he was acting in a mild way as a check on the Prime Minister's exuberant socialism

His return to Madras was at a critical moment when the Communists were poised for power and office, as they were to be later, in Kerala He saved Madras from their

tender mercies by tactics which revealed his capacity for working the parliamentary system to right ends He built up once again the disorganised Congress ranks, and as a reward for it, was driven out of office by a cabal which had a local but malignant potency

In the retirement that was thus thrust upon him by the course of events, he has resolved to take belated but decisive action For, it is to him we now owe the coming into being, or the makings, of the only truly national but unashamedly conservative party which could tackle the near and remote dangers of communism His organisation is still very young, and it has been exposed to all the ills of political nonage , all sorts of names have been given to it with a view to discredit it But it is undoubtedly making headway, thanks to the mounting ineptitudes, corruptions and unsound policies of the official Congress

Had Rajaji taken the plunge earlier, as well he might have done, the situation today might have been far different But the only charge that we can bring against him is, that he acted too late and too half-heartedly Of his profound religious outlook and of the extent to which it has shaped his whole life and conduct, there is no doubt in any quarter He had an excellent opportunity to render a signal service to the stability and emotional anchorage of the country if he had exerted himself to see that the preamble to our Constitution had not included the childish and absurd para which ostentatiously ignores the entity called God We have given to ourselves a constitution — which is grammatically inept, for giving involves another To take something found on the roadside and give it to ourselves is not a heroic proceeding The reverence and pride which we should develop to a living and growing constitution spring from unseen or imponderable or mystic forces of which we

know nothing No doctrine of atheists is outraged by conceding the proposition of the existence of a God specially when all the millions of this land believe in one It was an astonishing and ominous indication of the dominance of one man over the minds of many when Jawaharlal's *ipse dixit* or crochet came to be embalmed as an article in the constitution of the country That he himself sets little store by it, wherever or whenever it conflicts with his pronouncements, which have come to be looked upon as more sacrosanct than the written constitution itself It was a golden opportunity to make Jawaharlal realise the limits of his authority, but it was unhappily not availed of by any group of our leaders A piece of sophistry on one side has been supported by the pious, or shall we say impious, fraud of the many, who were more eager to please Jawaharlal than their consciences or their Gods No wonder that in the light of such supineness displayed by the choice and master-spirits of our time, Jawaharlal came to the right conclusion that he need not mind any opposition at all!

Rajaji's second major error lay in his praising Jawaharlal in and out of season — that is till recently — for conducting our foreign policy in the manner he has been doing it He hailed it as the very best that could have been devised, and even went so far as to say that no other alternative to meet our ends can be thought of This kind of fulsome flattery — albeit at long range — confirmed the Prime Minister in his feeling of the soundness of his foreign policy

The Avadi resolution on the so-called 'socialist pattern of society' marked the most decisive outward change in the policies of the Congress party, although any one conversant with the whole trend of Jawaharlal's evolution could have foreseen this development as strictly in consonance

with his well-known views As long as the restraining influence of Gandhiji was present, he bided his time or lay low So long as Patel was alive and active, he had to go slow, since the Sardar was supposed to be conservative if not reactionary Once he was freed of both, he began to find scape-goats in the capitalist and middle-class sections of society, with a view to present himself to the masses as their only saviour from their clutches

Rajaji did not then raise his voice as unambiguously and vigorously in protest against the new trend He had to retire — not entirely voluntarily, though he gave it that colour — and decided to withdraw from public life altogether Although Jawaharlal heaped upon him that empty honour of 'Bharata Ratna', he too had decided that he must be placed on the shelf But Rajaji was impelled by the subsequent turn of events to re-enter the field and raise the standard of revolt against Jawaharlal's thinly disguised dictatorship Being a host in himself, he organised a party called the Swatantra Party which is unexceptionable in its principles, programmes and plan of campaign If, as often asserted by Jawaharlal, we are committed to the parliamentary system of democracy, then there must always exist an alternative to the ruling party so that the task of government may go on smoothly and uninterruptedly Since the Congress had gone socialist — which was but a euphemism for communist — it followed that the opposition must frankly stand for its opposite, namely Freedom, private initiative and civil liberties He further saw the need for the new system to secure the allegiance and affections of the masses in terms which they could understand, and which could rouse their traditional faiths and beliefs In the concept of Dharma, he found a doctrine which appealed to and controlled the evil impulses in men specially in the mass,

and ensured them at the same time ample freedom to develop and manifest their native resources and potentialities As against excessive controls and vexatious over-government by anonymous but powerful bureaucracy, controlled by a single individual or charmed circle, he called for minimum government and maximum freedom for the people

In framing the constitutions and the fundamental principles of his party Rajaji has borne in them all his experience as an agitator, philosopher, politician and a statesman For his Swatantra party, he has given the lead by conceding to the members their freedom of conscience This right of freedom, which Swatantra party members enjoy, is in contradiction to what it obtains in every other political party The party discipline about which political parties make much of, often works against the freedom of one's conscience and one has to vote often along with his party much against his free will

The Swatantra party true to its name, gives full freedom to its members according to their light and conscience, so long as the fundamental party principles are kept in tact That the Congress party members are under a duress on account of party discipline, is clearly brought out by Govind Sahay's appeal to his Congress partymen which is as follows "Contemporary events have amply proved that the absence of freedom in any political organisation has led the country to authoritarian rule An organisation that does not give inner freedom to its own adherents cannot be expected to preserve and fight for democracy" (*The Hindu,* dated September 16, 1960)

Speaking generally of a two-party system Rajaji has a clear view in the matter He agrees with William E Bohn who feels that the Republican and the Democratic parties

in the United States are but a division of the same ideology of democracy, perhaps with slight variation in policies, or greater emphasis on ideals

That the real necessity for the United States, a campaign-battered country is ' a genuine blown-in-the-bottle conservative party ', is the view of the American journalist Bohn A conservative party really becomes necessary, when the liberal party is bolting away recklessly on bare exhilaration and dreaminess The Swatantra party with its extremely liberal outlook, with few fundamental principles to enforce party discipline, bids fair to become a powerful entity in the country

The clear-cut arguments of Rajaji will prove that " progress cannot be wise unless balanced by a spirit of conservatism " The two counter balancing forces in modern politics, as in the United Kingdom, the liberal and the conservative, have achieved real political balancing each led by leaders capable of learning from each other

In the context, we reproduce below what Rajaji writes in *Swarajya* on the last day of 1960

> " A real two-party system would alone furnish the healthy opportunity for beneficent osmosis There would be no osmosis but meaningless dilution if we cut out the dividing membrane
>
> We in India would be committing the greatest mistake if we deem the Congress and the Communist party to be a balancing system that can support the working of democracy Both have hitched their wagons to all round State control Individual incentive and freedom must be powerfully represented by a political party lead by wise and good men Otherwise enterprise will be choked There can be no national progress without the fullest freedom and encouragement for individual enterprise Bureaucratic trade and industry, for which both Congress and Communists stand, will lead the country into a morass The bureaucrats will draft beautiful apologies and explanations for every tragedy but the suffering people cannot live on such explanations "

The above is the inwardness of the philosophy of the Swatantra Party

Rajaji and his party at first came in for angry or petulant criticism at the hands of Jawaharlal He ridiculed it and gave it bad names in hopes of killing it But the relentless process of squeezing the middle classes in order to ensure a perpetual planning holiday, has led to a revolt by them from their thraldom to Jawaharlal's personality Numerically they are not as important as the masses , but qualitatively and culturally they have been the bastions of society That was the reason why the communist deluge in other countries singled them out for liquidation in the earliest phase A like process is now in progress in our midst, the only difference being that our bourgeoisie are being slowly asphyxiated instead of being summarily destroyed

Rajaji's opposition to planning springs from the unsound and hectic borrowings our government is making from all the countries of the world This self-imposed economic burden makes a hash of our political freedom, for it makes us subservient to the likes and dislikes of our creditors As for repaying our loans, there is no plan or scheme even on paper Quite clearly, the countries which give us credit are taking a risk, for they must know that repudiation of these doubts is well nigh a certaintv exactly as it happened in Russia in the early phases of its industrialization to American industrialists The American Government equally with the British who had sunk many millions lost them all The motive that prompted them was the hope that the revolution might never become uncompromisingly extreme In this, as we now see, they were mistaken

By forcing the pace as Jawaharlal is doing, the country could not get out of its commitments except by some such desperate remedy This would suit the books of all those

wedded to the communist or socialist theories The current talk about the possibility of both the public and private sectors co-existing side by side, however plausible and well-meant, is delusive It can only be compared to the larger and more fashionable slogan of 'Co-existence' between the capitalist and communist blocs There is a 'double-think' at work in both cases which saps opposition and thus paves the way for the untrammelled emergence of only one of them — the communist — at last Rajaji sees these immediate and remote dangers inherent in the present situation brought on by the policies of Jawaharlal , and he has called for a halt to his career As time passes the opposition between the two will crystallise more and more as one between a catholic nationalism rooted in our hoary past, sober progress ordered advance on the one hand and a sickly secularism, shoddy sentimentalism which flatters the masses and an ultimate dream of universal communism which is mystically supposed to be the end and aim of social organisation, economic equality and a political vacuum For the state would grow into a huge leviathan and grip us so powerfully that men as individuals would become reduced to the level of automata

Rajaji thus offers the challenge to Jawaharlal in a comprehensive, reasoned and temperate manner He appeals to him on the one hand to moderate his views and policies and exhorts the rest of us to escape from our thraldom to his personality If dictators flourish — however disguised and however appealing — the responsibility for allowing them to function as such is that of all of us If we are to be saved, it can only be by our exertions and the warning furnished by history of the terrible price which dictatorship has always exacted in mass disappointments, frustrations and disasters which egotistic leadership brings in its aftermath

In the context of the present condition of our country it is worthwhile to read what Gandhiji wrote in *Harijan* May 25th, 1947, posing a question when people at the top go wrong He answers as follows

> 'If the people at the top go wrong, it is certainly open to, and it is the duty of those at the bottom, to remove the wrong top, even as I would remove an umbrella which appears to be at the top but which is sustained by me
>
> Thus, Pandit Nehru is at the top But, in reality he is sustained by us If he goes wrong, those at the bottom could remove him without trouble Coming nearer home, if we found Suhrawardy Saheb (the Bengal Premier) to be unworthy, we at the bottom could certainly remove him, not by physical force but by the way I have had the honour of putting before you The argument that he is elected by the Muslim voters is besides the point
>
> It all boils down to the fact that if the people at the bottom are ignorant, they would be exploited Such was the case with the English When people realized their strength and the fact that the bottom sustains the top, it would be well with them Therefore, I would say that if the top is wrong there is something radically wrong with the bottom Let us therefore, dispel our ignorant helplessness '

It is a good fortune for the people in this country that God has spared Rajaji to serve them History will record with pride how a great political philosopher in India, after retirement and at the age of 82, donned his armour again to fight the cause of the ignorant people, who might have been easily enslaved under pretentious promises to them, incapable of performance by an incompetent Government Rajaji will be happy if every citizen will realise his Dharma by his Country and God As a true follower of Gandhian philosophy, no one is too big or too small for him He fights for us without malice, in a truly Gandhian way God bless him with strength and good health

11 Our Economic Policy

Political economy is both an Art and Science relating to money, materials and services rendered to the community by the State An age-long science, it has been handed down through centuries dating back to the days of Kautilya's *Arthasashtra* Political economy is akin to domestic economy except for its dimensions It is the practical experience and commonsense that give clear-cut and sound results more than mere theories enunciated by academicians We shall therefore say with Eric Roll that 'the study of economics is nothing but commonsense made difficult' And as John Maynard Keynes observed 'the theory of economics does not furnish a body of settled conclusions immediately applicable to policy, it is a method rather than a doctrine, an apparatus of the mind, a technique of thinking which helps the possessor to draw correct conclusions'

The fallacy of the ruling party is, that they have chosen for our country's economic development socialism as the only means Socialism means State-ownership of all land, capital and State control of all means of production — a most revolutionary method running against our culture Although the party government, with a democratic facade, feels shy to openly call themselves Socialistic, in practice their methods smack wholly of Socialism

If our political independence has to be sustained, it must be supported by our economic strength with capacity for increased production This can be done well only in a planned way, but the main objective of more and more production, suitably for the increasing population, must be

the same for all, regardless of party ideologies or affinities Increased production of food and other consumer goods should be the aim, whichever party rules the country, and not the desire to satisfy the partymen and their ideologies

In this context, the observations of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam are valuable He says 'To raise the standards of living is the common cry now-a-days This will only lead to a multiplication of wants and intemperate living among masses Real Socialism can be ushered in, only by checking extravagant ways of living and by encouraging the people to lead the simple life Unlike Western countries, our land affords scope for a simple way of living So both the people and Government should see to it that the general cost of living is not pushed up' But with all the paraphernalia of bureaucracy spreading into countless departments and multiplying files, the present Government of Jawaharlal has only added to extravagant expenditure Squander mania has become an epidemic which has seized our politicians, not excluding Jawaharlal, and it is justified as necessary in the execution of our plans as well

For practical purposes, the study of our national economic policy can be broadly considered under the agricultural and industrial sectors Increased food production is the first essential of national well-being It is inconceivable that we can, by any process of modernisation, convert the Indian sub-continent into an industrial country, depending on food imports in exchange for the export of our steel, textiles, sugar or even tea Even if it were possible physically, it would be incongruous and lopsided for a country with a vast land area Increased food production is not a thing to be achieved by amendment of laws or the substitution of statutory regulations for the old and time-honoured

contractual relations or by a limitation of the acreage of individual ownership, least of all by overthrowing personal interest, and introducing in its place collective or bureaucratic management through so-called co-operative organisations After a tour of China and Russia, where collective ownership is the rule in any industry whatever, our Jawaharlal with a superficial idea, has come to the conclusion that this co-operative farming offers the only solution to our food problem But the years that have rolled by since Independence together with crores of rupees that have been lavishly spent on this movement, only bear clear testimony to the fact that in India co-operative farming cannot by any means bring about increase in food production The basic fallacy in trying to promote the co-operative spirit lies in the fact that it should come up from the bottom among the rural folks themselves and not forced down from the top Just like the pyramids of Egypt, starting from a squarely broad base, the co-operative farming must be built up voluntarily Unless this is done nothing can be enforced on the masses, and soon a day will come when an agrarian revolution must take place to liquidate land ceilings and other appropriations by the State Of course in Mexico, Cuba and Spain voluntary co-operative societies do flourish But there it has been possible only because of the already high rate of food production, and the desire of the cultivators themselves to get together Our food production has fallen so low that what was available in 1940 per capita could not be equalled in 1960 in spite of so much of expanded agricultural activity This distressing situation is due in no small measure to the spate of agrarian legislation which has been inspired by ideological considerations How true is the old proverb 'Fools rush in where angels fear to tread' What has been forced is generally resisted and

frequently evaded 'If the revenue and State help which the Panchayats will receive were calibrated to the enforcement of the prescribed discipline for larger production, a new sense of collective responsibility will come to our villages to produce what is in their capacity and to enjoy what is within their limits' These things have been put forward to Jawaharlal by organisations and individuals worried about the agricultural position, but he only retorts by saying at a public meeting at Bareilly 'Those who tell you that co-operative farming amounts to some sort of confiscation of land are trying to cheat you' Prime Minister Jawaharlal seems to be omniscient and quite infallible in this aspect of his economic policy 'God save the Motherland'— shall we say?

It is a great pity that a brave patriot, who as an agitator, was strongly pleading for the agricultural development of his country, forgot to draw up a Master Plan for increase of agricultural products, when he came to power and rule the country He went about scheming for steel and other things without first attaining self-sufficiency in food for the people The consequences of this neglect is now telling upon the country's finances, by its having to buy food outside India every year, at considerable cost

On the industrial side, the ruling party's record seems to be still worse In countries generally whose economy is largely rooted in agriculture, the balance will be terribly upset if there is undue development of heavy industries Poland and Hungary for instance, under the domination of Soviet Russia, particularly since the last world war, have had some of the heavy industries thrust on them with the result that Poland, for instance, has been so denuded of its agricultural products, as to suffer widespread economic distress There it was no economic plan, it was something

forced on the country to meet some of the political exigencies of their overlord

Our Jawaharlal nas not taken note of these failures, and has also not appreciated the successful course of industrialisation in the U K, U S A and West Germany But for the world-wide depression during the 1930's when President Roosevelt had to intervene with his reputed New Deal programme to rebuild the shattered economy of the nation, there has been no other instance of State intervention in U S A Although Jawaharlal observed that 'It is foolish to have a Private Sector and then undermine it and prevent it from functioning I personally think that even for the proper functioning of the public sector, it is desirable to have a competitive private sector,' private enterprise has not been given the necessary facilities to force the pace of economic development But unfortunately recent trends in government policy unmistakably point in the direction of the growing expansion of the public sector and an increasing encroachment upon the sphere of private free enterprise Socialism need not mean the establishment of vast bureaucratic corporations remotely responsible to Parliament which can hardly exercise any effective control The real dynamic value of socialism lies not in an ideological adherence to any economic theory, but in its being a moral protest against social injustice and inequality With a deep, set belief in socialism, Jawaharlal wants to change the entire society All men may be created equal, but they cannot be equal in relation to efficiency and initiative He is incorrigible for his disbelief in free enterprise's success in U S A, U K and West Germany It seems a great 'miracle only for us when we see what has been achieved by West Germany in its economic development, but Prof Ludwig Erhard, who was responsible for her economic policies dur-

ing the last ten years, proudly regrets this term 'miracle', 'because an economic policy based on the principles of freedom made human labour again appear valuable and useful, and industriousness and devotion of a people were again made to serve human well-being' Dr Erhard felt as early as in 1947 that he must release the natural force of initiative and enterprise and allow it free scope to develop By a bold decision, he removed all controls in the face of opposition by his Cabinet colleagues He believed that post-war chaos in the country could be replaced by order and progress with the increase through competition in the supply of goods and services And it did happen No doubt large amounts of loans from the American Government were made available to those who came forward with an enterprising spirit, and today the foreign reserves which West Germany has built up are more than twice those of England All these concrete instances have not yet inspired our Jawaharlal and his pet child, the Planning Commission

The undermining factor in our economic development lies in our 'inorganic planning' 'Because freedom is an indivisible thing, economic freedom and political freedom are vital parts of a living whole Neither can properly exist without the other If economic freedom is curtailed, political freedom begins to wither If political freedom is taken away, the death of all freedom is accomplished at the same stroke' — Paul G Hoffmann

The most costly blunder of the Congress lies in its handling deficit financing as an open sesame when really that weapon is a double edged one The only efficient industry run by the Government of India is the Nasik Printing Press, because there is no system of costing there and it does not matter either Just as too much of power affects people, money by itself loses its balance when there is too much

of it in circulation It asserts its own position since it competes with the supply of goods and when it competes effectively, its value goes down and the prices go up When the prices go up they affect the fixed income groups who form the largest section and are the backbone of our economy The present position therefore is that this backbone is being strained to breaking point, because of the unbridled resort to deficit financing Prices are galloping day by day, and soon the time will come when the balloon must burst It is curious however that, as in other political affairs even in economic policies Prime Minister Jawaharlal betrays his amateurish spirit His neutrality in politics can be seen even in his economics For instance he says 'We want to produce all the material goods of the world and to have a high standard of living but not at the expense of the spirit of man, not at the expense of his creative energy, not at the expense of his adventurous spirit, not at the expense of all those fine things of life which have evolved man throughout the Ages' But one wonders whether by his industrial policy he has given all these to the growing entrepreneurs of our country As Carlo Motteli writes in his booklet "Ten years of Free Market Economy in West Germany" — 'Once it is accepted that, for the attainment of this objective, an economic order with a maximum of efficiency is as indispensable a pre-requisite as confidence in the stability of monetary value (vouched by President of the Federal Bank, Karl Blessing) it will readily be realised that an economically neutral and autonomous social policy is a thing of the past'

Ideologically we must progress, but at what pace? In the context of developing the country on the economic side in the post-war period and the strength we are able to give to the U N O will it not be more advantageous to

develop our potential resources and inherent strength in a natural way without forcing the pace of time?

For, this will prove a blundering application of the simple rule of three (time, target and resources) Because a farmer takes three months to raise a crop of paddy on his land, it does not follow that ninety men can raise the crop in one day!

Natural progress, the organic way of real development by stages, is the surest way to success, while forcing is speculative and inconsistent

The economic knowledge of Jawaharlal is basically, theoretically and practically superficial and amateurish He has neither the inclination nor even the academic curiosity to learn by trial and error the latent aspects of economic progress And it is, with such a fastidious outlook that he is making a hash of the fundamentals of this science!

The taxation policy of the Congress party government has of late become monstrous Not content with the indigenous talent to evolve ways and means to take away from the people as much as the ruling class can, they indented for the counsel of a British economist by name Nickolas Kaldor, for advice and methods of further taxation

Prof Kaldor helped our ruling class with a variety of ways to mulct the people of their resources He triumphed in his ability to tax a person in a variety of ways and said 'When a person acquires and holds wealth, he pays wealth tax When he spends it, he pays expenditure tax When he invests it and earns income, he pays income-tax When he gives it away to anyone, he pays gifts tax At death, estate duty becomes payable'

Kaldor only forgot to mention the fact that 'When a person eats he pays sales tax for the food he eats, and when he drinks he pays extra excise duty to the exchequer'

These two we owe to our local genius, and so he overlooked them!

No Indian regrets paying taxes so much as he feels miserable when these large amounts are thrown away in indifferent planning without gaining the results aimed at A callous indifference has grown on the party bosses, towards strict accounting for public money and with the inflation due to deficit financing the cup of sorrow is full to the brim Inflation is the worst form of taxation

> "Inflation is the worst possible form of taxation It is like a flat rate of Sales Tax, the rate being as high on bread and milk as on diamonds and furs It is a tax not only on everyone's expenditure but on his savings and life insurance It is a flat capital levy, without exemptions, in which the poor man pays as high a percentage as the rich man'
>
> —*Economics In One Lesson* by HENRY HAZLITT

The Hirakud project started with great hopes at considerable cost to the tax-payers, but the project is a flop to-day It cannot earn even its maintenance charges and by force of circumstances, the Government of India was obliged to transfer the upbringing of this white elephant to the care and custody of the State Government of Orissa This Hirakud is really "Nehru's folly", arising out of haste, impatience and lack of careful planning, without correct factual support

The way in which matters are moving in this country, particularly inflation in prices of food stuff, it is possible the money economy may break, and fixed income group may be the worst sufferers

Therefore the economic policy of the Prime Minister and his subordinates in the Planning Commission should be so changed as to accord pride of place to the stability of the currency, to ensure free competition by prohibition of restrictions on competition, to denationalise big public enter-

prises where returns are quite meagre even for maintenance and prevent accumulation of economic power anywhere by deconcentration of share holdings to be effected by means of a reform of joint stock company laws Since the new capitalism of today itself aims at a classless society, why should socialism bring about the same end on the graves of individual initiative and enterprise ?

Exaggerating the partial success of the First Plan, the Second Plan was ambitiously drawn up much to the discredit of our panel of the Planning Commission So in effect what little was achieved in the First Plan was lost in the Second Plan and the latter still remains unfulfilled The Third Plan now in the offing is once again a blind march in the wrong direction

About the Third Five Year Plan, commonsense will tell us that our plans must be within our resources and national reserves How defective it is, can be seen from the advice which K Santhanam, formerly Chairman of Finance Commission himself an ardent congressman (who had also suffered for his country's cause) gave recently in Rajya Sabha to the Government

> I am convinced that for the labour and effort we have put in, we would have achieved much more but for certain defects which I propose to point out
>
> The real issues before us are these Is the expenditure proposed in the Plan such as to produce the maximum rate of development at the minimum cost ? Secondly, are the resources for the Plan estimated realistically ?
>
> I am afraid our planning has fallen into a rut It has become like inflating a balloon Every year you have to inflate it so that the diameter and the entire circumference become bigger to a certain extent All the time we are hoping that the balloon will not burst, though all the time we are afraid that it may

For a poor country like India, the cardinal principle in planning should be concentration of resources But, in actual fact, our planning is planned dispersal of scarce resources There is a general impression that nothing in India can or should be done without the patronage of the Planning Commission and subsidy from the Central Government Take, as instances *Go Sadans,* palmyra jaggery, hand pounding of rice , sports and games, swimming pools for colleges and schools , literature, drama , dancing , music , none of these things in this country can be done without the Centre s patronage and subsidy from the Central Government I think our planning and our Planning Commission have created a paradise for faddists

Suppose the Planning Commission accepts my principle that it is concentration of resources that is needed Then, how will this concentration be applied ? I shall give only one or two instances For instance, in Kerala I would not like to spend a single pie on general education All the children — girls and boys are in the primary schools Sufficient proportion are in the secondary schools and more than a sufficient proportion are in the colleges On the other hand, there is grave unemployment among the youths Therefore, all the resources available for education should be spent for training technicians and training mechanics and for training artisans If, during the next five years, every year some 50 000 young men can be trained and sent out all over India, the political and economic climate of Kerala will greatly improve

The second principle which I would advance is consolidation We have been insisting and priding ourselves on quantitative advances and achievements Of course, in some directions quantity may be more important than quality I do not mind if we produce more coarse grains or more coarse cloth. But there are spheres of national life in which quality is even more important than quantity But I am afraid every person who knows is aware that the engineering graduate of today is not even as good as the supervisor turned out in 1951, and the medical graduate turned out of our medical colleges today is worse than the licentiate of 1951

We need good engineers and good doctors Two bad engineers cannot be substituted for one good engineer There-

fore, I think we should, during the next five years consolidate our achievements

Similarly, in the case of vital issues like price control and State Trading, whatever policy is required should be formulated after careful consideration, and once they are formulated, we should persist in them for ten years, fifteen years or twenty years till we can make them a success To formulate a policy today, publicise it tomorrow and make strategic retreats day after tomorrow is not the way to inspire confidence in the people in our planning '

The Commission has reached a stage of planning madness , for they hope to raise the needed funds anyhow as the saying goes "beg, borrow or steal" The Congress Party Government without caring to realise how their methods are likely to lower the prestige of our country go about begging rich nations for loans or gifts Borrowing they do from World Bank and other renowned Banks Stealing they cannot do in foreign countries But they can with their own people Started under the guise of a State Trading Corporation whose objective originally was to trade with Communist countries who have no private agencies for trade, the party government trading on a monopoly basis, takes away the meagre profits competitively secured by millions of traders formerly The Corporation has started trading in all kinds of commodities where profits are large and certain, thereby depriving the traditional traders of their mainstay A Government that had undertaken to ensure employment for all, is wiping out the means of subsistence for many in the land If areca nuts and chicory powder earn large profits they duly become the monopoly of the State Trading Corporation What is more scandalous, prices are stabilised at a new higher level to the discomfort of the consumer

It is this monopoly of the State Trading Corporation which is doing so much harm to our national economy If

the State Trading Corporation is to be only one of the traders the harm would be very much less If at all a State Trading Corporation is required, then let it be as a competitor and not as a monopolist, because competition results in the scaling down of prices automatically to the benefit of the people But with a number of inefficient and inexperienced personnel, the Corporation could only boost up the price level as in the case of cement, camphor, manganese etc , not to speak of the unmitigated bungling in exports This kind of bureaucratic handling of trade is quite unsuited to our economic growth The public has been fed time and again on the thesis that one of the objectives of the government is to provide for more employment Yet another objective of the government especially in promoting the State Trading Corporation we are told was the ultimate elimination of the middleman If these are the objectives, one is entitled to ask the government for information as to the number of traders it is responsible for displacing and ruining, as a result of the steady expansion of the activities of the S T C At a time when the country badly needs foreign exchange, if the authorities wantonly meddle with trading communities and allow opportunities for export to slip by, the officials concerned certainly need to be dealt with, suitably and drastically

A little digression to point out the dangers of bilateral trade, specially with the communist countries When all is said and done, it is considerations of political strategy that make them trade with our country today The moment it does not suit or please them, they will suddenly stop importing from our country Meanwhile our traditional customers would have been lost to us In their zeal for cultivating new fair-weather customers, the S T C will be quite unintentionally running the risk of allowing our export trade to be left in the lurch Herein lies the danger of going too much after

bilateral agreements with the communists As it is aptly remarked once the tiger licks human blood, even by a lick if not by a bite, it will hunt after its prospective prey Similarly the S T C has tasted profits in those efforts as in cement distribution We can have recourse to the golden saying of the late Mr Aneurin Bevan of the British Labour "Trouble with Boards of the nationalised industries is that they are a constitutional outrage This was a mistake for which I must accept my share of responsibility" And from Sir Winston Churchill we have this warning "If you destroy a free market, you create a black market If you have ten thousand regulations you destroy all respect for law" When such is the case, we still wonder how our Jawaharlal can stick to Statism As the socialist member of Parliament Mr Normal Dodds laconically remarked, "some of those who 'holler' most for more nationalisation, do not know even the fundamentals of running a fried fish and chip shop or a cookie stall" The S T C is an evil product of the perverted brains of a national planning body making policy on only the Soviet model and not obtainable in any democratic type It has no place in a free society, because what it logically attempts to do, is, to establish a command economy of the commissar pattern and not the consumer preference economy

Mr Minoo Masani writing on "Planning for Prosperity" has an interesting piece of information to convey He writes "I am not one who quarrels with the salaries of the members of the Planning Commission or of the Ministers At the same time it is not open to them today to reduce the salaries of a less fortunately placed class of people Of our people, 52% are landed cultivators The Planning Commission says that for a family of five the earnings are to be no more than Rs 300/- per month This is creating a

new depressed class in society It is planning not for prosperity but poverty and servitude for the majority of our people and for the glory of the " New Class " as the disillusioned communist leader of Yugoslavia, Milovan Djilas has described in his book Thus progressively, members of the Planning Commission or some such extra constitutional busybody like the statistical adviser to Prime Minister will decide whether or not you will buy soap or chocolate ! "

This is a sorry state of affairs, and unless informed public opinion convinced of the worth of free economy and competition is constantly hammered into the demi-Gods of the Planning Commission, including Jawaharlal, the future of our country is doomed for ever Just for a change, let government raise the income tax exemption limit, abolish sales tax and reduce land revenue by 25% Our Indian economy will automatically develop great vitality If these measures are put into early operation they would act like vitamins since our backbone has yet not been broken More food and more goods would be produced

Readers will do well to remember that after over 40 years of Socialist Economy in Russia, that State has not helped to bring about a better standard of living to their people, and there is still great scarcity of consumer goods The State of Russia after getting all the wealth of the country into its hands is spending the monies in Sputniks and Luniks, neglecting industries engaged in the manufacture of consumer goods Khrushchev admitted this fact to the Russian people Disarmament may help Russia to spend more for the manufacture of consumer goods A letter that appeared in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, a Russian paper, of 4th October, 1959 which is as follows is to the point

" It is time to stop justifying it all by Sputniks and Luniks Come down to earth — to the most ordinary pair of shoes

I have only one pair, but I have worn them for four years already And why? Because it is a Western pair with a foreign mark Personally I do not need the TU—114 I use the tramway, but I want to live well and dress well

Even today the Russian Economy is lopsided The Soviet State spends more in scientific inventions and researches, than in supply of consumer goods to her people The Soviet people now demand more consumer goods, and they also want a variety of choice in the consumer goods field For example the orange silk lampshade was the only type of lampshade produced for years and there was no other variety

By a decree of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on October 15, 1959 the orange lampshade will be abolished and more varieties will be produced The decree also has the following most important remark on consumer goods

"The production of many cultural and everyday household items lags behind the constantly growing demands of the population There is a shortage of television sets, pianos, children's and youths' bicycles, washing and sewing machines, refrigerators, electric irons, food grinders, porcelain, china, glass and enamel containers, household chemicals, hardware and other items

'In several towns, and in some rural areas, it is not always possible to buy the simplest household needs, production of which could be organized on the spot Very few goods made of plastic and other synthetic materials are being produced

The Russians were living under a great repression during the time of Stalin who was as cruel as the Czars of Russia to those who opposed his view point and whom Stalin ruthlessly liquidated!

The following extracts from Khrushchev's speeches at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party prove this

Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation and patient co-operation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his view point and the correctness of his position was doomed to removal from the leading collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation This was especially true during the period following the 17th Party Congress, when many prominent party leaders and rank-and-file party workers, honest and dedicated to the cause of Communism, fell victim to Stalin s despotism

At another place he says

'It became apparent that many party of Soviet and economic activists who were branded in 1937-1938 as enemies , who were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers, etc , but were always honest Communists , they were only so stigmatised and, often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges — falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crime

"Many thousands of honest and innocent Communists have died as a result of this monstrous falsification of such cases , as a result of the fact that all kinds of the practice of forcing accusation against oneself and others In the same manner were fabricated the 'cases' against eminent party and state workers — Kossior, Chubar, Postyshev, Kosarev and others "

This is what one intimately associated with Stalin who represented the Communist dictatorship had to say

In the interests of the people and their progeny Jawaharlal, our Prime Minister, has to be warned to remember always that "Haste makes waste" As President of the Planning Commission, a house of amateurs, he is largely responsible for the huge waste of the taxpayer's money, and rapid depletion of our foreign exchange What can be achieved slowly and steadily over a period of 25 years or 30 years without waste and burdensome taxation, avoiding inflation arising out of deficit financing, our Prime Minister

s attempting to do all in 15 years His itching for personal eputation to have all things done during his life time, is the nisfortune of our country, and the people have to face the onsequential difficulties, most unnecessary and unexpected

Speaking recently Acharya Kripalani said

> "There was a time when people accepted the socialist slogans that State ownership of production means would solve all their problems But their experience was something entirely different They now realised that a private employer did have a soul while the government had only a machinery People also now realised that all that was managed by the State was not well-managed and private owners definitely managed a factory better than the Government did It was once feared that private ownership was a monopoly, but now they realised that State ownership was an absolute monopoly "

May we with all humility at our command tell our dear awaharlal, that the Socialism he learnt from European olitics, having failed to achieve its objectives, is today giving vay to liberalism and to conservatism And for us Indians, he kind of the joint family system, which his uncle Nandalal Nehru was following during his life time, is real socialism ?

Let not the middle and poorer classes believe that Marxist economy will improve their lot Marxism while it nay kill capitalism must raise a new class of people — the rivileged class — whose behaviour towards the public is vorse than that of capitalists

" A free Society is not to be built on envy " — Lionel Robbins What the society wants to-day is more production Malice or envy of the capitalists cannot produce more

Like the Americans we must realise that " Self Help " lone will save us The government nowhere produces vealth It is only the distribution agent of your money paid by you as taxes, and wise citizens do not expect the State o do any good for them except enslave them for a morsel

of food " Self Help " is the best economic policy and even God helps only those who help themselves That being so how can a government help you ?

Readers must realise the truth that when a State or the Government runs a business and there is a heavy loss, the loss is recovered from the people by way of taxes, direct and indirect such as sales tax, tax on food and other imports If in the private sector there is loss in a business, the loss falls on the shareholders and the public are not affected

> The Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National are two trans continental railway lines Both are big concerns and do the same kind of service Both try to make profits The latter is Government owned, the former is a Corporation of joint stock holders The privately owned Canadian Pacific over a 18-year period 1941-1959 made a *profit* of 669 million dollars, and the Government-owned Canadian National suffered a *loss* of 653 million The Company owned Railway paid in dividends 368 million dollars and paid taxes to Government amounting to 340 million The Government owned Railway of course paid no income taxes and yet suffered a loss of 553 million dollars — *American Legion Magazine*

Inflation, that is the increase in prices of the food and other necessaries of the common man, is his worst enemy It attacks him without warning and when he has only a fixed sum of money paid to him as wages for his services, he is unable to buy the same quantity of things necessary and is shocked at the rapid increase in prices The government will announce in all papers that they will try to keep the price-level down, but that is a hoax How can they when they are pumping out more money without the reserves, through their Nasik Security Press, printing currency notes and passing them over to a particular sector according to their plans ?

On Economic equality and socialism, Gandhiji has

written in various issues of *Young India* and *Harijan* as follows

> My idea of society is that while we are born equal, meaning that we have a right to equal opportunity, all have not the same capacity It is, in the nature of things, impossible For instance, all cannot have the same height, or colour or degree of intelligence, etc , therefore, in the nature of things, some will have ability to earn more and others less People with talents will have more, and they will utilize their talents for this purpose If they utilize their talents kindly, they will be performing the work of the State Such people exist as trustees, on no other terms I would allow a man of intellect to earn more, I would not cramp his talent But the bulk of his greater earnings must be used for the good of the State, just as the income of all earning sons of the father go to the common family fund They would have their earnings only as trustees
>
> "We do not want to produce a dead equality where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost possible extent Such a society must ultimately perish I therefore suggest that my advice that moneyed men may earn their crores (honestly only, of course) but so as to dedicate them to the service of all is perfectly sound'

The present Economic policy of the Congress Party government is neither fish, nor flesh nor red herring, and so must quickly be brought to realities

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FREEDOM OR REGIMENTATION ?

To the striking examples of Germany, France, Italy and other members of the European economic community must be added yet another miracle'—the great leap forward of Japan, whose real national income rose by 18 per cent in 1960, and the Japanese people kept their freedom too

It is clear that Statism must go It is for the collective wisdom of the Indian people to decide whether to take the road of progress through freedom or toil along the soulless path of regimentation

PROF B R SHENOY

12 Internal Administration

> If the roads, the railways, the banks, the insurance offices, the great joint-stock companies, the universities, and the public charities were all of them branches of the government, if, in addition, the municipal corporations and local boards, with all that now devolves on them, became departments of the central administration, if the employees of all these different enterprises were appointed and paid by the government, and looked to the government for every rise in life, not all the freedom of the press and popular constitution of the legislature would make this or any other country free otherwise than in name And the evil would be greater, the more efficiently and scientifically the administrative machinery was constructed
>
> JOHN STUART MILL

Great were the expectations raised in the minds of the public by the leaders of the Indian National Congress during the pre-Independence days They assured them that rivers of milk and honey would flow throughout the country for the poor people to enjoy, if only the British quit the country and there was Swaraj for India The whole country was bestirred and exhorted for mass agitation and visible public demonstrations demanding Swaraj

The irony of fate as we see it today, after a dozen years of Swaraj, is, that one man having gained personal supremacy, goes on acting according to his whims and fancies, more to gain the applause of the world for himself than doing any substantial good to his people He invites important dignitaries from foreign countries, gives them royal welcome, puts up big shows, treats them like Princes, conducts them like a showman to view his prize-exhibits and gets certificates from them that they have seen as wonderful things in

this country as in Russia itself Such fantastic performances by the Prime Minister add to the growing burdens of the harassed tax-payers who have never borne so much so patiently But Jawaharlal assures us that all these are in the interests of the country and its people whom he professes to love most, and whose support he solicits for the Congress over which he bosses in the name of the High Command

During the thirties of this century, most of us believed that Gandhiji was a man of the stature of Lenin, and that Jawaharlal, who was his second in Command, was a great democrat in the noble tradition of Abraham Lincoln

Gandhiji was more a saint than a politician and after Swaraj was secured he retired from politics, retaining for himself the task of promoting the mental and moral elevation of the masses, while Jawaharlal was given the reins of the government with very great men from all parties to co-operate with him in the administration of the country

On assuming office, Jawaharlal said 'A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance Freedom and power bring responsibility The past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now That future is not one of ease or resting, but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom which can no longer be split into isolated fragments '

Readers should always remember the fact, that Jawa-

harlal was never born of the masses and he can never be one of them, though, in the name of the Congress, he has learnt how to secure mass appeal

It was however not conspicuous when he was younger and more consciously aristocratic and when crowds repelled him For in his *Autobiography*, he writes

> 'Our house attracted crowds of pilgrims It lay conveniently situated near one of the places of pilgrimage, Bharadwaj, where in olden times there was a primitive university and on the days of the mela an endless stream of visitors would come to us from dawn to dusk Curiosity, I suppose, brought most of them and the desire to see well-known persons they had heard of, especially my father But a large proportion of those who came were politically inclined, and asked questions about the Congress and what it had decided and what was going to happen, and they were full of their own economic troubles and wanted to know what they should do about them I started the day by saying a few words to each group of twenty or fifty or a hundred as it came, one after the other, but soon this proved an impossible undertaking, and I silently saluted them when they came There was a limit to this, too, and then I tried to hide myself It was all in vain The slogans became louder and louder, the verandas of the house were full of these visitors of ours, each door and window had a collection of prying eyes It was impossible to work or talk or feel or, indeed, do anything This was not only embarrassing, it was annoying and irritating"

About Jawaharlal's methods of administration generally, D F Karaka has correctly put it in his book *Nehru, the Lotus Eater from Kashmir* 'Nehru once believed that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, but this is not the way things have worked out for him Of late he has been seen going around in circles like a dog trying to catch its tail, and getting increasingly annoyed at his inability to do so, Finally, we have seen him exhaust

himself in the process, and end up with delivering yet another sermon to the nation, pious, rambling, full of platitudes and good purpose, but achieving nothing in the process

'Non-violence, for instance, only came to him because of his blind and implicit faith in Gandhi In the hectic days of our struggle he gave us the impression that he would have preferred to pick up a gun and fight his way out of the Bastille which was once India, and lead us to the open Elysian fields of freedom, rather than spend years in offering steady, solid moral resistance which was the essence of *Satyagraha* But as Gandhi never compromised on this fundamental issue, non-violence prevailed Today, Nehru is left with the creed on his hands, unable to apply it at home, but content to preach it in the assemblies of the world, even with a world conflict looming on the horizon, and the power-blocs re-arming for action'

These words of Karaka are amply proved by Jawaharlal's dealing with Kashmir, which was halting and still remains prejudicial to our country Once the Indian Army was there, it was the duty of the Prime Minister to have saved the whole of Kashmir from Pakistan The Prime Minister's wavering, searching counsel of dubious advisers when it was unnecessary, and such other delays, when it was dangerous to delay, and then suddenly ordering 'cease fire' when the Indian Army was moving victoriously, gave Pakistan an opportunity to nibble at a portion of the Kashmir State All this happened though Kashmir is the ancestral home of Jawaharlal who takes pride in his Kashmir descent

But worse than this followed, for after pouring into Kashmir enormous quantities of Indian blood and money, Jawaharlal, without consulting the Indian Government at home, assured the people of Kashmir that after peace was restored, he would enable them through a plebiscite to

opt for either India or Pakistan! This made a bad situation more complicated until today we are in a painful predicament No Statesman or Administrator has ever behaved so foolishly by paralysing the army in the hour of its triumph and then giving an impracticable pledge to people as Jawaharlal did in the Kashmir affair

In the course of his administration over the long period of thirteen years, Jawaharlal as Prime Minister of India, has floundered more and more His major defect is that he is highly emotional, and makes ill-considered, reckless, unnecessary pronouncements of policy He announces something impracticable, then tries to make that practicable at a heavy cost to the nation and in the end the final upshot is something totally different from what was expected

In the case of our self-sufficiency in food he bungled again He loudly warned the country that she should produce enough for her population, and that no more food would be imported after 1952 He said he would hang from the nearest tree, the black-marketeers, the hoarders and evaders of taxes He promised a welfare state wherein people can live better Now it is over thirteen years since he came to lead us The results have been that no self-sufficiency in food has yet been reached, but what is worse, we are importing more food from abroad The black-marketeers, hoarders, and evaders of taxes are still there, thriving better if they are Congressmen paying donations to the Congress funds Instead of a better standard of living, the people are faced with soaring prices of food-stuffs and other basic necessities of life Life in India is getting more and more difficult for the great majority of the people What is the reason for this?

This is because the High Command, as the Congress party calls Jawaharlal our Prime Minister, is neither a

statesman nor an administrator, but only a great patriot, highly emotional, easily irritable, and would not take advice, but yet he appeals to the masses on account of his wordy professions of sympathy for them, and by virtue of his record of jail-going in the years of our fight for freedom

Of nepotism and corruption there is plenty in the country, not that they were not present during the period of the British rule in India, but we were expecting these to go when Jawaharlal assumed office as Prime Minister Our disappointment is all the greater when we find these now very much on the increase He is weak and indulgent to those who are his friends or relations, and more particularly to those who pay him lip service

Patronage by definition is invidious, but when it colours a politician's outlook in the discharge of his public duty, it becomes indistinguishable from blatant corruption Even more deplorable is the encouragement it affords to lesser ministers at lower levels, to resort to the same device to consolidate their positions

In the matter of public appointments, the record of Jawaharlal has left much to be desired It would certainly have heightened Jawaharlal's position in public estimation, had not many of his appointments smacked strongly of favouritism and nepotism

The editor of an English weekly — a very eminent publicist — wrote sometime ago that there was a feeling among the public that there were too many Nehrus in political jobs and in key positions In spite of his strong dislike of feudalism, one wonders why he is a party to it himself? Perhaps he dislikes feudalism only in others!

Lord Acton's dictum, 'Power corrupts, and absolute power corrups absolutely' is as true as any natural law governing humanity The ancient Greeks ostracised the

citizen of their State who became most popular, 'lest one great man should corrupt the State' It is a rule in the American constitution that no one citizen can be President of the United States for more than two terms lest his continuance should lead to despotism which always blights talents in others

The British rule that no person of great authority should be allowed to remain in office in the same place for more than three or five years, is a matter of common knowledge District officers used to be transferred from one district or one province to another after the expiry of a term of a few years This rule was intended to ensure that no individual acquired personal influence, such as would harm the majority of the public, while it strengthened the vested interests of a few

When the British left us, they left in the country a good system of administration which we might have improved considerably Gandhiji did not live long enough to guide us along right lines His disciple, our Prime Minister, has proved himself a prince of extravagance

Gandhiji wanted great economy in the administration of the country and to abolish high salaries and large perquisites attached to such offices as those of the Governors, Ambassadors and other dignitaries He felt that as the people in the country were poor, we should not continue the British standards intended for the white officers in India What have we done in regard to this? We are maintaining the same costly British system in spite of our promises to Gandhiji and naturally we suffer

Unless our citizens realise that public administration is not a personal affair, but demands strictness regardless of personalities, the chances of India progressing towards a welfare State are remote Friendship, loyalty and other per-

sonal virtues should not blind an administrator to the demands of public interest Likewise citizens should throw up for administration of their country, efficient men with strong character, devoid of arrogance or conceit, and able to rise above personal or political affiliations

The administration of the External Affairs ministry by the Prime Minister himself, has become a regular scandal Enormous sums of India's resources are continuously thrown over the network of embassies, many of which are maintained on the ground of prestige for India The public are aware of the Jeep Scandal in which his closest friend Krishna Menon was involved

When the question was raised in Parliament about the huge wastage by the External Affairs ministry, Jawaharlal defended his department and said that great care and economy were maintained in the control of our embassies To check up matters the Auditor General, Narahari Rao, was sent over to our missions abroad When the Auditor General returned he revealed to the dismay of the Prime Minister, several instances of enormous amounts of wasteful expenditure, including one where a sum of Rs 27,000/- was withdrawn from the bank account of the Mission for the use of one of the ministers, who however credited it to his own private bank account a few weeks later! The Auditor General's report on the expenditure of our foreign missions disclosed expenses both objectionable and extravagant Many of our foreign missions appear to be luxury houses to accommodate friends of the Prime Minister at the cost of the luckless tax-payer in India

The heavy and undue pressure on our finances constantly put by the Prime Minister was evidently the chief cause of resignation from the Finance Ministry not only of Dr John Mathai but of others who succeeded him

Dr John Mathai quietly resigned without giving any reasons, but when provoked by the Prime Minister, he said "Some of the greatest offenders in this respect have been the ministries functioning under the immediate control of the Prime Minister It has been for me a difficult uphill task, and a definite weakening of our campaign for economy has naturally resulted The last case of this kind I had to deal with, is typical of what is happening When it was decided that our High Commissioner in the United Kingdom should be our Ambassador in Ireland, the Standing Finance Committee agreed to the proposal on the distinct understanding that no expenditure other than the travelling expenses of the High Commissioner should be incurred There was to be no building or staff for the Embassy

"This proposal was agreed to in November last by the External Affairs Ministry as part of our economy campaign But the High Commissioner would not accept the suggestions made by us and the matter was, therefore, brought before the Cabinet, at the Prime Minister's instance The Cabinet has now agreed that our Embassy in Dublin should be provided with a building and also staff, not merely without the approval of the Standing Finance Committee but against its recommendations"

The Prime Minister's weakness in the Administration of the country has thus become obvious It was our national policy to unify the country India's strength lies in the maintenance of unity of all the States as one union strongly knit by a sense of patriotism However for administrative purposes, the Prime Minister wanted to divide the country into a few zones While this idea was uppermost in his mind and in others, the sub-division of the big States into smaller homogeneous ones was agitated for by the people in those States In Madras State, for lack of an outstanding

leader who was also acceptable to the Andhras and the Keralites as well, and the fear that a Tamilian Minister might not serve the interests of the Andhras and Keralites, the desire to break up this province into two or three States became keen

The Andhras began the agitation, but the Prime Minister would not yield in the beginning The feelings of the Andhras against the Prime Minister ran so high that when he came on a visit to the Andhra area at the time when the agitation was in full swing, he had no public receptions or ovations such as he was used to before He went back to Delhi, had the States Reorganisation Committee appointed and finally the Andhra State was conceded At no time was he able to act firmly, reasonably and justly. Such chronic failure has invariably led to resentments, disorders and the weakening of our sense of unity

Following the success of the Andhras, others have since started agitation The Punjabi Subha and the Naga Land are now the headaches for the country There may be no harm dividing the States into smaller ones so long as administration costs remain within bounds and the integrity of the ministers remains truly Gandhian Corruption in Public Administrations is on the increase and unless measures are taken to fight it, it may become rampant The great danger about this is, that the evil seeps through and eats silently into the heart and core of the body politic

Sometime ago C D Deshmukh, ex-Finance Minister, well-known for his integrity and uprightness, wrote to the Prime Minister about corruption in high places, and even undertook to prove them before an impartial tribunal provided Jawaharlal did not interfere personally in these cases. Jawaharlal wanted that he should be acquainted first with the proofs of the corruption Some cases of corruption

personally brought to the notice of the Prime Minister were simply referred back to the subordinates against whom the charges were made, with the result that the informant got into trouble and the corrupt official stood unaffected

Very recently addressing the Bharat Yuvak Samaj at Gorakhpur, U P , Vice-President Radhakrishnan openly declared his feeling that if people, particularly those occupying positions of power, failed to subordinate their self-interest to that of the public good, there might be violent upheavals in the country The very important aspect of the Vice-President's observation was to the fact, that there was corruption in high and low places, and that the persons at the helm of affairs found themselves unable to weed it out Corruption is a terrible contagion Unless weeded out early, it will become worse than an Augean Stable to cleanse

It looks as though the Prime Minister is not willing to fight corruption openly except through the party channels, for fear that if responsible leaders of the Congress party should be exposed, the party itself might suffer from the disgrace of the delinquents

More than high salaries, the perquisites which Ministers and Ambassadors now enjoy must go, for these are often many times more than their salaries, and add to the burden on the tax-payers

Our Prime Minister Jawaharlal seems to be easily impressed with grandiose schemes and glib talk of quick results Practical experience has proved all over the world, that steady industrial progress can be achieved, with intelligent public enthusiasm and that it will yield better results than the fanciful claims of communist countries of quick progress

In the spotting of genius for our rapid progress, our Prime Minister has not been lucky From the beginning

foreign experts have been haunting him much to the disappointment of our country The first of them was in 1949 when Sardar Panikkar recommended to the Prime Minister an economic genius in the person of Dr Solomon Trone who was reported to be a top man for industrial planning Quite against the wishes of the then Finance Minister Dr Mathai, a large sum of money was spent on the Foreign expert for what really proved to be more a catalogue of grievances than any blue-print on economic planning There have been other experts since like Dr Nicolas Kaldor, Appleby and others who have either stated platitudes or only darkened counsel

The public, besides having to face corruption, are disgusted with the inefficiency, and costliness of the administration in all its branches You get a refund order from the Income-tax Officer, but it is defective for a mistake made in the date, or something of the sort, and it takes months to get another proper order for encashment, you apply for a pumpset for your agricultural work but nothing moves in the agricultural department, your electricity or telephone bills are wrongly calculated and you are charged more, but all the same you must pay the heavy bill and then appeal to get back the money, again you apply for two hundredweights of steel to the Controller of steel, with a fifty naye paise court-fee stamp on the application, and for months together you do not hear from the department For every little thing there is an application form· which the public has to pay for, and on top of it, you have to affix a court-fee stamp for the application So numerous are the ways by which the common man is mulcted, much to his disgust and made to wait in a very long queue that he is left with the feeling, that the government is robbing the poor people also, besides worrying them

Officers of the administrations are now-a-days reluctant to take any decision lest they should incur the displeasure of their superiors With the soaring cost of living even those who are well-paid in the services are unable to save against a rainy day, and they naturally feel disappointed It is pitiable in the lower rungs of the ladder in the services, the clerks are not able to make both ends meet on account of the high cost of living Naturally they are dispirited and sit moping in the offices Unless the incentive for more production is given and the price level of food-stuffs is controlled and kept at a reasonable point, it will be impossible to increase administrative efficiency A day's good work and a living wage must be the motto of the government

About our villages, we all remember how Gandhiji wanted a Panchayat Raj, meaning thereby prosperity for the villages and through the villages for the country as a whole

It is now over twelve years and our villages are much the same as they were before independence, except that we see occasionally in a few places a small building with some newspapers for the villagers to read These are now-a-days used for Congress party propaganda work, though they were built at the cost of non-congress citizens also

The so-called Community Projects and Development Blocks are no more than eye wash Only in a number of villages where a few huts have sprung up, small insignificant boards, naming the colony after a Minister, are seen

Unless villages are made attractive, the exodus to towns will not stop They must have good drinking water, electricity, a park with a radio set to spend the evenings on sultry days, and a cheap cinema house to entertain them When will these come ?

In the *Harijan* dated 7th December, 1947 Gandhiji wrote —

"Our Prime Minister is a learned man, a great historian and a great writer, but he knows nothing about agriculture and farming The other Ministers are all well to do men, who have never worked on the land Yet more than 80% of India's population consists of *Kisans* Only a *Kisan* knows how to increase production and the fertility of the land Only he can understand the whys and wherefores of profiteering by the *Kisans* and overcome the evil In democracy, the *Kisan* should be the ruler I would certainly like to push forward an honest and capable *Kisan* Such a *Kisan* would not know English I would ask Jawaharlal to be his (the *Kisan's*) secretary and see the foreign Ambassadors on his Chief's behalf and take pride in such service Such a *Kisan* Prime Minister would not ask for a palace to live in He would live in a mud hut, sleep under the sky and work on the land during the day whenever he is free The whole picture would change immediately In *Panchayat Raj*, the man who should count most in India is naturally the *Kisan* How to advance him is the question"

About literacy, much was talked of by our political leaders before independence Now what have they achieved during the twelve years? Practically nothing!

The results of the Congress party government's achievements have been insignificant in the matter of improving living conditions in the country and the efficiency of our services is gradually deteriorating

Gandhiji who was watching our independence work for some time wrote in his *Harijan*, 14th December, 1947 as follows —

"Pandit Jawaharlal has said that he would rather be called the First Servant of the Nation than the Prime Minister Are all Government officials really servants of the people? If so there would be no scope for luxuries They would then all be for ever thinking of the people and their needs That would mean *Rama Raj* or the Kingdom of God on Earth That would be real and complete independence **THE INDEPEN-**

DENCE OF TODAY STIFLES ME IT IS UNREAL AND UNSTABLE '

Another test of the purity of an administration is the role played in it by the Judiciary Political thinkers and philosophers have been exercised from remote times on the question of the ultimate source of sovereignty in a State The ancient Hebrew prophets acted as a check on the vagaries of temporal power without however exercising any constitutional function They were analogous to the Rishis of our own traditions, the sages and the law-givers who were generally considered the final court of appeal, since contraventions of their advice or exhortations brought disaster on the nation Much later, the theory of the divine right of kings was developed, but as it led to the abuse of monarchy, it followed two independent developments In one of them, the kingship was itself abolished, with the sovereignty reverting to the people according to the famous theory of social contract which Rousseau propounded The other led to limitations being put on monarchy until it became 'constitutional' The supremacy of Parliament was evolved by painful, slow but steady processes which acted as a check on the vagaries of popular will The community of the nation, as a whole, was led to recognise the need for a spirit of conservatism to manifest itself at least on crucial occasions, so that continuity might be maintained without blocking progress But with the rise of Marxist thought, a new kind of despotism has come to be enthroned in the rubric of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' It was invested with the same kind of powers and prerogatives which had earlier been claimed by a king or emperor or Pope or chieftain This is the most revolutionary and unsettling idea which has emerged in the theory of political institutions and its mischief consists in the fact that an

amorphous body like the people is vested with an extent of power which it can neither fully understand nor wisely exercise A benami agent steps in — the dictator — who speaks for the proletariat and runs amok since he takes care to have the people on his side by employing the arts of demagoguery This has happened in our life-time in Russia, Germany, Italy and Spain

Jawaharlal whose one major weakness is for novelty, has become impressed by this unhealthy development in other countries, and has been impelled in the course of the last thirteen years to bridle our judiciary and insidiously sap its authority by setting at nought its considered findings. His justification has ever been the same, namely that we are living in revolutionary times, that a new spirit is abroad and that we must all bow to it as the condition of our further progress There is no attempt to consider the question of whether a people cannot also go wrong, and if so what remedy there can be against such lapses ? The only answer that is offered is that the people alone can retrace its steps if it comes to realise its mistakes The bearing of this conclusion on the stability and progress of any State is obvious. It will be subject to seismic disturbances and no real advance can be achieved For we would be continuously engaged in committing mistakes and trying to repair them Politics is no doubt a pragmatic science , but this wanton spirit of light-hearted experiment is ruinous , for once the glorification of revolution for revolution's sake is admitted as valid, disorganisation will set in a chronic manner

The record of the Prime Minister and his henchmen all over the country, in this matter may be studied in the number of adverse judicial verdicts which his administrative measures have provoked On more than one occasion, Jawaharlal has lectured to the judiciary, exhorting them to

take note of changing times, when their only fault — if it is a fault — was that they interpreted the law of the land as it stood. Take the question of compensation for taking over private property. It has always been justiciable in all civilised systems of government. But when the quantum of compensation did not suit the fancies of the Prime Minister, he got Parliament to pass a law taking away the right from the judiciary and vesting it in the executive. He went one step further in some other instances; he rushed through legislation on such expropriatory measures and gave them retrospective effect, thus bringing the judiciary itself into contempt.

It never occurred to him to pause and ponder whether there might not be a flaw in his ideology and methods of approach in tackling such complex problems as inevitably arise where property is concerned. He is thus drifting openly to the communist position, that law is a creature and not the arbiter of the State, and that where it cannot be made subservient to the will of the executive, it should be circumvented by dictatorial fiat thinly disguised as a parliamentary decision.

On the other side, we have had equally disquieting instances of his interfering with the course of justice in small matters too. The case of Nanavati, a commander in the Indian Navy is an astonishing instance of using the Nasmuth hammer to crush a flea. The law is no respecter of persons; but the executive has its favourites who must be lifted above the law! Hence the due processes of justice were short-circuited to gratify a whim. It is a mystery why it did not strike him that he could have saved his favourite by a simple suspension of some service rules which would have answered the purpose. He must needs flaunt his low opinion of the judiciary by an act of caprice which did not enhance his

reputation and which sought to offend justice itself He used to call the measures passed by the British to curb the country as 'lawless laws' The British at least had the excuse that they had to resort to them in the interests of law and order In his own case however, there was no such exigency, but only a growing and incurable itch to apply the weight of his power, to humble and discredit all those venerable institutions which normally people look up to as the bastions of their rights and liberties

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DICTATORSHIP OR DEMOCRACY ?

> Say what they will, I cannot believe that as a people we no longer have the energy, the self-reliance and the courage to run our government and to manage our own affairs, that our business leaders as a class are so corrupt that they can no longer be trusted, that in this country (U S A) success no longer represents merit and sacrifice, but unscrupulous adventure or survival under the law of the jungle But if all this be true and necessitate an all-powerful government to guard and guide us, in the name of commonsense, how long will that government itself remain pure ?
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> OGDEN L MILLS

13 Our Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of every country, which is free and independent, can only be an extension and fulfilment of its domestic policy. Both are fundamentally motivated by the instinct of self-preservation. But not all countries can have the luxury of a 'foreign policy' as such.

Jawaharlal's interest in international affairs dates back to the troubled thirties, when our fight for freedom, seemed part of a general fight for freedom from tyranny even in the West. Communism which had been treated as a 'pariah' by the Western nations began to assume an air of respectability with the rise of national dictatorships in Italy, Spain and Germany. A new cry of 'democracy in danger' was raised, and a general crusade against tyranny assumed an international character. The leadership of this new movement was, for a time in solution, since Russia in those days was engaged in domestic purges, and many people thought, not without reason, that Fascism or Nazism and Communism were but different labels for the same thing — namely contempt for human personality and individual freedom.

It was in that context that Gandhiji's message of Truth, Non-violence, Universal Brotherhood and love, carried a powerful appeal to the whole world. The progress made by the Indian national movement for liberation from foreign yoke brought a prestige to the philosophy of Gandhism, since it seemed to show a way out of the sad and bad era of wars of aggression and conquests. Gandhiji resisted more than one attempt made by international bodies of earnest people from other countries to organise a world-crusade, but

he proclaimed that if India could win her fight peacefully, then the world would be in possession of a technique and objective which it could apply anywhere and everywhere

His native modesty disclaimed any special virtue to himself, and he chose Jawaharlal to become his mouthpiece of the new evangel The vision that thus inspired Jawaharlal was the achievement of national freedom and the vindication of peaceful democratic methods In those days, imperialism seemed by contrast even with communism, an unrelieved evil , and as Britain was the chief offender, the liquidation of British imperialism was equated with the liberation of submerged peoples in Asia and Africa Fraternal links were forged between Egypt and India in pursuance of the plan to bring maximum pressure to bear on Britain We espoused the cause of China then in the grip of Japan, and attacked the colour-bar in South Africa We thus gave proofs of our nationalist and international outlook at the same time And our moral standing grew, even our foes admitting that the Mahatma was the greatest idealist of the century

Under the influence of this exaltation of mind and mood, and with the exit of Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru decided to jump to the heights before he or the country had learnt to stand on their own legs The Asian Conference which he promoted was an attempt to claim the leadership of Asia on purely moral and ideological grounds The Bandung conference of Afro-Asian nations was a logical corollary of the Asian conference, since it aimed at the establishment of a common front between the backward peoples and their more powerful exploiters from three continents The stage was thus set, as Jawaharlal thought, for himself to speak for the whole of the resurgent East from the summit of a moral Everest which was beyond the

reach of the discredited or tainted leaders of East and West!

The end of the second world war soon brought to an end the honeymoon between the allies who had leagued together to rid the world of the Fascist and Nazi menace A new race for world-power began with the two giants who had emerged, bleeding though victorious, from the shambles of that world-conflagration Round the two mighty protagonists, events drove all the other nations, most of them voluntarily and a few against their will, and the dichotomy between East and West assumed a new and menacing complexion For it bade fair to be chronic, until one or both of them collapsed to make way for a third entity, as has always happened in the history of the world

Faced with such a dilemma, Jawaharlal was immobilised in his self-chosen and isolated knight-errantry The role was too spectacular and glittering to be given up without a struggle Hence he propounded the doctrine of 'neutrality', 'dynamic neutrality', 'non-alignment', 'uncommitted outlook' and 'freedom of action' and so on But the game of politics is neither static nor negative One must act all the time one is in it, if one does not act freely, events will force him to act in spite of himself This applies to nations no less than to individuals Hence we have been witnessing the astonishing spectacle of a course which is as confusing as a maze, as serpentine and tortuous as the movements of some invertebrate creature which, enmeshed in a thicket, goes round and round it, imagining every moment that it has got out of it It is these improvisations and *ad hoc* expedients which we may study in some detail by a review of our record during the last decade and more

Let it be remembered that the creation of Pakistan was the exclusive invention of Jawaharlal's statesmanship to our confusion and disgrace Commenting upon Jinnah's

insistence upon it, Jawaharlal is said to have told a foreign correspondent that the Quaide Azam's motive was a longing to taste power, specially as he was getting old and as his sands were running out Apart from the question of the chivalry implied in such a psycho-analysis of one great man by another, we who have since had a thirteen-year dose of Nehruism have been utterly convinced that the failing which he attributed to another was and continues to be his own to a desolating degree

Kashmir and its chequered history since independence is another gift of this demigod to a distracted country which is still bemused with him His congenital infirmity to decide firmly and act quickly, has made it a festering sore in our body politics Taking it as an issue to the U N O and then trying to argue out of it on technical grounds, have not enhanced our reputation in the eyes of other countries Public opinion in India has come to support him because he has skilfully played upon its anti-Pakistan bias At the same time, he has not scrupled to appease Pakistan over what he considers 'trifles' in expectation of getting full marks for his vicarious generosity and in the hope of the Kashmir issue solving itself in his favour with efflux of time He wants the U N O to act swiftly everywhere else except where he himself is involved And for a wonder, the world as a whole seems inclined to fool him to the top of his bent The reasons for this incredible indulgence shown to him by even the great powers are interesting enough to be considered separately Thus in his handling of our relations with Pakistan, the debit side is more fully entered than the credit side

In the case of Burma, he has had his fingers badly burnt, but it is tacitly ignored by all concerned for different reasons At first, in the flush of our freedom, we made

two heroic gestures in hopes of keeping Burma a docile client of ourselves We cancelled all outstanding debts owed to us by Burma, and followed it up with a loan of grant to help in the rehabilitation of her still shattered economy The humour of our generous move cannot be understood fully unless it is recalled that, at the same time, we ourselves were engaged in taking our hats round, among the wealthier nations for aid or loans to push through our Plans The old saying about robbing Peter to pay Paul has thus found a novel variation We borrow from others to lend to a much smaller fry than ourselves

Burma's record in the expropriation of Indian interests has been after the pattern sanctified by communist theory and example Our leader has apparently approved of it without however having the guts to apply the same technique in relation to British capital in India In the fiery old days, when he was to the left of the extreme 'leftists' in the Congress, he sponsored a resolution which declared that free India would repudiate all debts incurred by the British Government, unless they could be shown to have been in the interests of India It so alarmed the then British Government, that it took care to introduce 'safeguards' into the constitution, to check-mate any possible future expropriatory steps that might be thought of by any Indian government

But the precaution proved wholly superfluous For with his coming to power, Jawaharlal gave such a blanket assurance of *Abhaya** to British capital and followed it up with so many valuable concessions that today, we are indebted to Britain to the extent of more than 400 crores of rupees all borrowed since Independence We take the following from the *Statesman* dated January 4, 1961

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* *Abhaya* means absolute safeguard

'British investments in India have increased from Rs 206 crores in 1948 to Rs 398 crores in 1958 and they are still flowing in!'

'Indian commercial circles state that the present mode of taxation is more favourable to foreign subsidiaries with major foreign holding than collaboration projects with major Indian holdings '

How strange that the implacable foe of imperialism and colonialism, the sea-green incorruptible republican should be found at close quarters a docile pet, eating out of the hands of British capital and making his own country pay for his vainglory!

But even more untoward has been his attempt to keep Burma in his camp It has not only broken away from his tutelage, but has just now aligned itself openly with China The conferment of some grandiose and wordy honorific on Chou-en-Lai must have been as much to honour a powerful neighbour and patron as to administer a resounding slap on the face of our beloved and *only* leader There are more than a million or two of our nationals in Burma, but Jawaharlal has asked them to fend for themselves and make peace with the new masters of their adopted country

In Ceylon the tale is pretty much the same Here a powerful minority of Indians from Tamil Nad who had found a second home in the Northern and Eastern provinces of that island are now threatened with cultural extinction, and yet not a word of disapproval or protest has issued from the Prime Minister of India

Last, and worst, of his lapses was his inglorious attitude to Tibet in the hour of its rape by China By acquiescing in that act of calculated and cynical spoliation, he paved the way for that colossal leap which has brought China with its spreading wings or fangs within easy grasp

of the whole of our own northern boundary The manner in which he allowed ourselves to be squeezed out of Tibet step by step, is the most glaring instance of Jawaharlal's amateurishness, political immaturity and total obliquity of vision in relation to the future

Thus in our immediate neighbourhood, we stand isolated, ringed by timorous friends or suspicious foes, all because it has been a one man's show, and that man a puffed-up egoist with a mercurial mind, unpredictable gusts of impulse and an ignoble constancy in never deserting the foot-lights Burma has become a Buddhist State, while Sinhalese has become the national language of Ceylon and Islam of course has found a second and more fertile home, in which to flaunt the crescent more to over-awe us, than to gratify its heart's desire In the name of a dingy liberalism and pseudo-secularism, we stand denuded of the protective mantle of the most ancient, the most enduring and the most consoling religion and culture which the spirit of man has yet fashioned

China's foreign policy showed its hand There are in Calcutta and Kalimpong large islands for the Chinese, coming through Burma, (old) French Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia and beyond up to the Philippines whom the mother country was determined to use as instruments of her new policy This extensive belt still lay under the influence of Western capitalist exploiters, and so an ideological pretext was easily found to advance national expansionist aims In pursuance of this grand aim, China bullied Indonesia, set up a client state in Viet Nam, and won over Burma Malaya proved a hard nut to crack, for the British had allowed the Malays to taste power, the continued enjoyment of which became bound up with continuance of the British connection Consequently, the communist cells in

Malaya were smoked out, with methodical and relentless thoroughness which has saved it, for the time being, from slipping into the Chinese *Nirvana* * Tibet was a possible point *d'appui* which the West might seize and exploit to point the loaded pistol straight in the eye of Chou-en-Lai He therefore forestalled such a move by himself making Tibet a Chinese-communist subsidiary Jawaharlal was caught napping, the audacity of the move struck him all of a heap, like all cerebral heroes, he admires ruthlessness in others in direct proportion to his own inability to practise it himself, and as the new despoilers came in the name of freedom and liberation, he became a lonely apologist of Chinese aggression in Tibet He found in Lamaism a convenient scape-goat to salve his tender conscience, and has used his influence to see to it that the U N O did not get seized of the matter For playing the honest broker so zealously, his reward was a further dose of aggression aimed at the territorial integrity of India herself It was more a token affair than real business, but, it disclosed China's hand to all those whom it might concern Jawaharlal pondered over the phenomenon for a couple of years or so, and then light dawned on him He then took the world into his confidence and announced that China had committed an act of aggression against this country It was no discovery, for it had been an open secret in all the chancelleries of the world, and among the knowledgeable in India too The R S S Chief — Guruji Golwalkar — raised the alarm but an incurious Indian public would not hear him, or hearing him, would not believe him, for was he not the political opponent of the thrice admirable and infinitely incomparable Jawaharlal? When at long last, the same

* *Nirvana* means Liberation of the Soul

Jawaharlal announced more in sorrow than in anger that China had committed a lapse, the whole country echoed him And when he sought to neutralise the alarm created by his own smooth assurances, the sense of false security again descended over the land like a pall which still hangs heavy on it

Thus has ended our Chinese honey-moon But we still swear by Panch Shila and hope that it would rediscover its potency to our relief A cold war is now on between us and Chou-en-Lai's China, and Jawaharlal at least knows its manifest advantages to a shooting war He calls for an end to the cold war between East and West, forgetting the one which he has set in motion against China We still back China's claims in the U N O on the plea that two wrongs cannot make a right, and amaze the world with an exhibition of our heroic candour and self-denying objectivity He is thus running with the hare and hunting with the hounds What the final upshot of it is, no one can now foresee — least of all Jawaharlal Enough if the deluge came after him

But while our relations with China deteriorated through failure to assert our rights, we tried to cultivate the friendship of Japan in a peculiar manner When at the end of the second world war, Japan was forced to pay reparations to all the countries devastated by her, our Prime Minister announced that he would forego the share allotted to India, as a gesture of India's goodwill to Japan Then it was not a question of democracy versus Fascism, but of Eastern nations standing shoulder to shoulder against the more powerful West Japan's subsequent recovery and rehabilitation show how it has followed an independent line and subserved its national interests while we stand at her doors with hat in hand for economic help from her !

On the other side, our role in Malaya under the British was even more equivocal. We called for the end of the exploitation of the backward people all the world over, and swore eternal allegiance to Gandhiji's message of peace. Yet we permitted the British Government to recruit an army of Gurkhas to fight the 'communist guerillas' in the Malayan jungles in the name of law and order. A little later when communist troubles assumed a nationalist garb in Indo-China, he raised his voice in denunciation of the French imperialists and colonialists and aligned himself with the winning side.

But these minor attitudes have been more than neutralised by our estrangement with China, and if we have any friends and sympathisers anywhere in Asia, then all that we can say is that they are keeping themselves pretty close!

In the Congo however, we have taken a stand which is aggressively anti-Western and pro-Communist without any direct relevance to the realities of the warring tribes and far-flung and straggling areas which have leapt into prominence with the retreat of 'colonialism'. It will take perhaps years before some stability comes to the divided and distracted interior of Africa. We have been badgering the U N O to tear the charter to pieces and intervene in the imbroglio to further confound a situation which is already confusing enough. We have achieved no other result than to be suspected, disliked or traduced by the very groups whose cause is supposed to be dear to us. Had we kept our own counsel and not been so blatantly partisan, the cause of peace might have been better served. For, it is important to remember that the ordeal of the new-born States in Africa is not to get rid of colonialism but to avert the inroads of communism. On that issue, African opinion is more percipient than arm-chair politicians lec-

turing it from thousands of miles away Just as freedom brought us unwanted Pakistan, so too do we find in Africa, a legion of Pakistans rearing their heads to enjoy freedom in ever-narrowing circles But we shut our eyes to one side of the picture and call for punitive action against some groups because we do not fancy them The stock-reason repeated by Jawaharlal that there is risk of a major war lurking in either Vientian or in the Congo is reminiscent of the boy who cried 'wolf' too often and too prematurely A major war is not going to be averted by minor threats or exhortations The root-causes of prevailing world maladies lie elsewhere than in Laos or in Congo The only immediate result of our vocal intervention in either 'crisis' is to earn the malevolence of a section of people in those countries If one of the aims of the foreign policy of a country is to practise the art of losing friends, then we may claim the first prize for achieving it here, there and everywhere !

There was a time when Jawaharlal appeared before the world as the avenging destroyer of the British government in India and of British imperialism all over the world But the whirling of time has now brought about a change which shows him as the 'prize-boy' of that very satanic system, and as the senior-most member of the Commonwealth Premiers

Jawaharlal has since been at pains to emphasize the fact that it is to our advantage to remain in the Commonwealth , and his opinion has been accepted with as much docility as his former opinion

For, consider the posture of affairs on the morrow of the second world-war The prestige of Soviet Russia was at its zenith as the liberator of mankind from the horrors of fascism and nazism Indian communists flushed with

vicarious victory were well poised to step into power without striking a blow They were only waiting for the inevitable break with the Commonwealth to achieve their heart's desire The colossal shambles of post-partition war between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, euphemistically called 'riots' drove the communists into a corner A further extension of internecine struggle seemed inevitable with the eclipse of civil authority which as likely as not might have cast Jawaharlal into the limbo of oblivion He had no army at his back, but a rabble which was frantic, disorganised and muddled in mind and heart Therefore he clutched at the Commonwealth nexus as a drowning man a straw, and was — saved ! So we returned to the Commonwealth fold with our tail between our legs, promising perpetual good behaviour for the future

But the leftism could not be given up either, for it was the condition of taking the wind out of the sails of the communists So he took away their clothes while they were bathing, and has been strutting in them ever since, raising expectations in the popular imagination which can never be realised and seeking to build a magnificent superstructure on no foundations and using card and pasteboard instead of enduring building materials He has thus become the Janus of fact — a socialist mouthy communist claptrap, and a product of the British public school system with a mystic veneration for the 'school-tie'

The cold war between the Eastern and Western blocs is the seventh heaven of Jawaharlal's paradise, where he has long striven to shine as the one star of independent lustre and magnitude The U S is the 'Aunt Sally' of his ideological broadsides with latterly the U N O itself claiming an increasing share of his lordly disapproval Our alleged non-alignment is Pickwickian or — bogus On all

crucial issues that have divided the world into opposing camps, he has aligned himself with the communist bloc and thus made a farce of our neutrality He has been sponsoring China's admission into the U N , but has ignored the claims of Germany He wants the unification of the Congo or the Arab world, but avoids any direct reference to the continued bifurcation of Germany He is rendered sleepless with sorrow that Belgium should stir up trouble in the Congo , but he applauds the peace of the grave which the Soviet bloc has brought to East Europe, Tibet and elsewhere

In return for such exuberant zeal to augment the power and prestige of the Soviet bloc, what has he gained ? Only one barren comfort which time may show to be deceptive if not treacherous Khrushchev has backed him in his claim over Kashmir — not the whole of it, mind you, but of that part of it which he holds The Soviet motive would change if tomorrow Pakistan cuts itself off from the Commonwealth, the American sponsored Middle-East Defence system and the SEATO K's grouse against Pakistan is that it has aligned itself with the West It is also a warning to us of what is in store for us if we did not toe the Soviet line on all major issues that divide America from Russia

If this analysis is correct, then it may be asked why the Western democracies are also eager to keep us in good humour and even to cultivate us by showering on us gifts, loans, aids and what not ? The motive is very simple — to get a foot-hold for themselves inside the country with our own co-operation In time they may prove to be like Sindbad the sailor and the Old Man of sea It is a move against the future — how near or remote is beyond any one to predict — when the final struggle between communism

and its opposites will have to be fought out in India as much as everywhere else in the world

We have farmed the country among foreign concessionaires and how can a borrower inspire respect in the creditor, specially when the creditor knows that he runs the risk of losing interest and capital? We are no more inspiring figure than the cat on the wall which makes others wonder which way it would jump That is our precise position in the international scene, and who can say that it is an elegant or heroic situation? It is not by playing off more powerful nations against one another that our strength can be made to grow Let us keep our own counsel and speak less, let us not be drawn into the quarrels of others out of a deluded notion that we are charged with the mission to set the world right Let us cultivate our own little patch of kitchen garden and labour for our own people with austerity on top, discipline below and sympathy all round Gandhiji brought the whole world to seek him out, to admire and be edified by him We have cheapened ourselves disastrously since those days when the Voice of India was hailed as the voice of truth, peace and good-will to all men Nepal accuses us today of harbouring imperialist designs, China blames us for having an eye on Tibet

Unless the country wakes up while yet there is time, it will inevitably be called upon to pay heavily for its delegated derelictions Let us remember always that "*Eternal vigilance is the price for freedom*"

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14 Some Sidelights on Jawaharlal

About Jawaharlal's temper more particularly after he became Prime Minister the following incidents described by D G Kulkarni in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* should throw some light to our readers

'It was 1st October 1955 The special plane carrying Jawaharlal, his daughter and the Railway Minister was *en route* Pondicherry Two hours after it had taken off, the Prime Minister was in a sudden rage He got up from his couch, fidgeted, upset the files before him, poked his hand to the files of newspapers spread out before him Then he ripped off the curtain across the window, knocked the cushion seat, searched high and low, muttered to himself He was hunting for the States Reorganisation Report which has been released to the press that morning, which he proposed to go through himself during his seven hours journey But as the curtain came off the pole across the window his daughter approached him and asked him as to what the matter was 'Where is that volume I was just reading? Mr Nehru asked She asked him to get up and there was the report on which the Prime Minister had been seated She handed it to her father with a charming smile, and Nehru was mollified

'At Kalyani near Calcutta, the Congress Party was in session The subjects committee was holding a special meeting On the beautifully decorated dais sat the members of the committee, reclining comfortably against Mr Nehru as usual was rummaging through the files Suddenly he remembered his spectacles. They were nowhere to be found He asked his neighbour the Party Secretary Lal Bahadur Sastri if he had seen his glasses 'No said the prospective Railway Minister Up jumped Nehru muttering and mumbling vexed by the temporary loss of his glasses The proceedings of the committee had to be held up Someone eventually

retrieved the pair of spectacles from behind the cushion against which Nehru had been reclining

At New Delhi in the palace of the Nawab of Rampur now headquarters of the Congress, the members had adjourned for a cup of tea Nehru was the President of the Congress The elections were approaching and list of prospective candidates were under scrutiny Maulana Azad, Education Minister sat next to Nehru smoking a cigarette Suddenly Mr Nehru lost his temper He looked into a file and appeared to be thoroughly disgusted with what it contained and hurled the file which caught the poor Maulana Saheb and lifted the tea cup off its saucer, drenching the latter with the beverage Azad was outraged, he blinked through his glasses at the Prime Minister Nehru got up, helped Azad to his seat and both left the meeting abruptly

' The Prime Minister was yawning It was a hot May afternoon in the capital The working committee of the Congress had been in session since the morning Mr Nehru removed his Gandhi cap, rubbed his bald head once or twice, yawned and forgot all about the headgear The meeting proceeded with more yawns on the part of everyone until the time came to adjourn for lunch Nehru tried to adjust his cap, but it had disappeared Everyone was asked about its whereabouts and a careful search was made A youngster dressed in spotless khadi shyly approached Nehru and handed over to him the cap Where was it ? he asked and the boy replied in Hindi Here, sir, inside the file which you were examining ' The Prime Minister took the cap without a word, smiled at the boy, patted his head and left

Of Jawaharlal's inconsistency and poor performance H V Kamath in the *Illustrated Weekly,* 16th August 1959 writes as follows —

" Addressing the Constituent Assembly of India in Constitution Hall, New Delhi, Jawaharlal observed, The ambition of the greatest man of our generation (Gandhiji) has been to wipe the tear from every eye That may be beyond us, but so long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over

"Some twelve years later, in June 1959, at Ootacamund, the same man, palpably rattled by growing opposition to his policies, said 'I fear nobody, I am not a religious man and I do not fear even God'

"The two utterances, one sublime and the other presumptuous, reveal the curious mixture of contrary elements that constitute the personality of Nehru They are a measure at once of his strength and his weakness Latterly, his early flaming idealism has been progressively dimmed by his growing taste for power, aggravated by a false sense of personal prestige and an egocentric illusion of indispensability

'Nehru has been a phenomenon in the post war world Survey the globe from China to Chile where else will you find another politician who has been Prime Minister of his country without a break during these twelve troubled years? There have been big upsets and even small revolutions in many other countries, but India has presented the solitary exception of a Government headed by the same individual; an individual, moreover, whose achievements at home and abroad have been no more impressive than his failures Is it just because he has been Fortune's favourite, or can one find a more rational explanation for this amazing spectacle?"

Yes The ignorance, indifference, and the political immaturity of our people is the cause of Nehru continuing in power in spite of his failures (These in italics are ours)

"The first time I saw Nehru was at a Congress Session in the late 'twenties, when I was a college student I heard him speak, but he was no orator as some of the older leaders were His personality, his sincerity and forthrightness, and his speeches tinged with revolutionary idealism attracted me, but somehow I felt that here was no heroic man of action, nor one who could inspire others to the supreme sacrifice When I saw and heard him again, at closer quarters, in 1936, at a reception by Indians in London, the earlier impression was strengthened

"In January 1940, Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of a casual conversation, said to me 'Jawahar may make a good leader or Prime Minister in normal times, but in a

crisis he will fail His judgment, his assessment of Nehru, has proved more or less correct

'As Prime Minister for over a decade, I have watched him from day today, in and out of Parliament, at first from within the Congress Party s ranks and later from the Opposition bench Subhas s estimate of him has come to my mind on more than one occasion Unlike Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel he is not a shrewd judge of men and character, and is easily swayed by appearances Nor has he the tremendous organising capacity of Mahatmaji or Netaji he is too temperamental and impatient for that kind of work But he is systematic and methodical, and is endowed with physical, mental and vocal energy in far greater measure than anyone I have known Unfortunately, not a little of it is dissipated in footling functions, formal ceremonies and avoidable speeches

Much damage has resulted from the fact that he has no hard head for administration and, unlike Gandhiji, no zealous regard for the right use of public money His supreme advantage, however has been that, during his early political career, his father Motilal Nehru made his path smooth for him, and Gandhiji took him under his wing His greatest asset in the latter part of his career has been his heirship to the Mahatma, and it was lucky for him that Netaji vanished from the scene Furthermore, the tradition of hero worship bordering on deification, in a country whose milieu does not seem quite congenial for the flowering of the democratic spirit has also contributed to the remarkable stability of his position '

A South Indian lady Shanta Rangachary, who has been observing the performances of Jawaharlal since his coming to power, makes an open appeal to him through the columns of the *Illustrated Weekly,* dated 23rd February, 1958, requesting the Prime Minister to give up speaking too much and "convert the popular tendency to institutionalise fallible mortal men into a wholesome respect for democratic institutions and the Rule of Law"

Nehru must in addition to all he has done — teach the people to be independent of him The lady further states

how while our Prime Minister had addressed three public meetings and appeared a dozen times officially in public, the Prime Minister of England during the same period did not make even a single public appearance but was quietly going on with the affairs of the State Administration

"It is not part of Mr Nehru's official duty to permit himself to be so much in the public eye or to indulge his countrymen to the extent of many column inches of space in the press day to day This is no criticism of his personality quotient The fascination he holds for the masses is legendary and insatiable The fear is not that Mr Nehru is exhausting himself but that he may soon exhaust the nation

"What we have here is not an example of personality cult but what we may call 'deification cult' Not Asoka or Akbar could ever lay claim to this degree of idolatry Road Congress, Religious convention, Science conference, Nehru has to appear in person at all of them He has had so much practice spreading cement on the foundation stones it may be said he has become a skilled mason himself The demands on his powers of expression are so pressing and continuous that he has begun to repeat himself or talk absent mindedly at random

"It is no longer true that people go to hear what Mr Nehru has to say It is his person they come to see

Writing on the 'personality cult in Indian politics Mr N C Chaudhuri observes as follows

"In India in recent times political thought has been notoriously imitative and sterile and to this has been added an almost feminine weakness for the latest fashion Nonetheless the old firmly established tradition of personal rule still controls the political outlook of the Indian people so thoroughly albeit unconsciously, that it has not only made them accept the Nehruian regime as natural, but has been a force behind its emergence"

After Nehru Who and What? Such questions were more frequent a few years before than now The questions rose generally from those with limited knowledge of world

politics and events and from those very passive and inactive and quiet in their ways of life with enough in their hands to lead life comfortably Such persons are mostly of mediocre intellect, neither confident in themselves nor in the ways of God The most amusing part of this is that those who were worshipping Jawaharlal as their hero, are now regretting the same, as of late their material resources are controlled and regulated adversely to them

No sane person can ask a question as the above, but think of what he as a citizen should do to look to the welfare of his country and people

More than Jawaharlal, Gandhiji was the 'Father of the Nation' Gandhiji is no more with us, but still if we only follow his noble example and lessons left behind him, we must be alright Likewise if we take all that is good of Jawaharlal and follow the good points then we shall honour Jawaharlal and do good to ourselves

The only way to honour Prime Minister Nehru is to reduce his burden, by doing our duty, not merelv follow him blindly, but work actively in the direction each of us believe is the right one, to develop a welfare State either in co-operation or in opposition against him In an appeal to Jawaharlal to be more of a Nationalist spokesman as distinct from Congress, Asoka Mehta writes in the *Times of India Illustrated Weekly* as follows

> "Assuming conditions in India remain stable, the question of Nehru's successor may not prove to be of vital importance On a smaller scale, we have seen in Bombay State how such a question gets resolved Mr Morarji Desai bestrode the old State like a colossus For his successor, no one would have picked Mr Chavan, because he was then, in racing parlance, 'a dark horse' He was called to the helm of the new State in the midst of serious difficulties, and has proved himself a

highly successful Chief Problems of succession have often a knack of resolving themselves

"We are in search of someone who will bear the Cross for us For a free people, for a great nation, such a quest is pathetic and stultifying

Both in the U S A and the U S S R, with two entirely different political systems, succession was not only smoothly, but also satisfactorily, achieved In the U S A, Roosevelt was succeeded by Truman, whose unsuspected ability made many 'eat crow' In the U S S R, Khrushchev has shown greater flexible strength than Stalin In both the countries, the people had certain sense of purpose and direction that imposed itself upon the inexperienced leaders The problem, 'After Nehru ?', will get solved to the extent we are able to evoke in our people a similar sense of purpose and direction

'Pakistan has got into difficulties because no sense of purpose or direction was imparted to the people Antipathy to India was the sole focus of understanding and allegiance evolved In India, Mr Nehru has tried hard to instil in us clearer purpose and direction If he has a weakness, it is in administration He apparently believes that democratic society grows not so much around a firm administration as from an awakening of informed understanding among the people

'I believe we shall reduce Mr Nehru s burden and add to the useful span of his life if we respond to his dedicated efforts to weld us together round a common purpose and share an agreed sense of direction Perhaps, Mr Nehru will have to be more of a national, as distinct from Congress, spokesman before such a massive response is forthcoming'

Frank Moraes in his *Biography of Nehru,* writes

"He has a habit of approaching and assessing persons, as he does problems, more by the yardstick of vision than that of analysis, more by instinct and imagination than by cold-blooded reason and evaluation

"Sometimes he has drawn from less familiar sources He relied greatly over a period on the sage and sober counsel of the late Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar and carried on a prolonged honeymoon, which was abruptly ended, with the

astute C Rajagopalachari of Madras Off and on he is wont to consult the Vice President, Dr Radhakrishnan, but it is noticeable that these intermittent counsellors are requisitioned only when he wants his own opinions reinforced The closest to him today is probably the didactic and controversial V K Krishna Menon with whom he visited Spain during the civil war some twenty years ago Menon has an aptitude for rationalising Nehru s instincts and impulses, particularly in the field of foreign affairs, and of clothing them in clear precise language and logical thought He is also a superb draftsman, able to capture the consensus of opinion in a committee or assembly and reduce it to a formula or resolution acceptable to all or most

' By and large the men around Nehru are men of talent and aptitude, including some not always or only recently associated with the Congress These include the Finance Minister, the able Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, a former Governor of the Reserve Bank and member of the Indian Civil Service, and T T Krishnamachari, the Commerce Minister, a businessman whose affiliations with the Congress are of comparatively recent date Because a cabinet must be composite and cohesive, those who comprise it are necessarily of the Prime Minister's outlook and share most if not all of his predilections and views But Nehru is careful always to follow democratic processes, and the Congress Parliamentary party, whose chief he is, is always scrupulously briefed in his policies and plans

" Within his own party and Government, the Prime Minister is ready to compromise on details and on minor disputes and casuistries, but on the big issues and on the basic principles he is rarely, if ever, prepared to yield About the only two instances are the Hindu Marriage Bill and the 1955 Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, both of which have come in for heavy revision

" Perhaps he is inclined to trade too much on the talisman of his name, expecting thereby to carry through measures not acceptable to certain sections of the people He erred badly in encouraging the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission, hoping through it to satisfy certain urges for linguistic States and in the process to strengthen the unity

and integration of the country Instead the Commission s recommendations submitted in September 1955, set off a chain reaction for linguistic units which found explosive expression in certain areas, notably Bombay, Orissa and East Punjab This certainly surprised Nehru, who intensified his initial mistake by insisting that the recommendations should go through the democratic process of being submitted to the opinion of all parties and persons before the Government made up its own mind It would have been wiser had he accepted the recommendations straightaway, for they were the considered proposals of a non-partisan commission comprising three eminent individuals with no party affiliations

'Herein lies the danger of his splendid isolation Had Vallabhbhai Patel who by his swift incorporation of the princely States laid the foundations of independent India's unity, been alive, he might have served as a restraining and guiding hand But in India today there is no one to restrain and guide Nehru He is Caesar And from Caesar one can appeal only to Caesar ! '

In 1952, seven years after the indifferent rule of the country by Jawaharlal, one young gentleman from Musiri, South India, an advocate and a follower of Gandhiji wrote in the issue of the *Current*, dated 24th September as follows

"In the pages of history, your name will be marked not so much for your achievements, but for the vast gulf between your ideals and your practice Your name will go down as that of a weak-kneed politician who had lofty idealism but not the strength or courage to put it into practice You will be remembered as one who gave up his faith to make sure the security of his office

Posterity will judge you, not so much by what you did, but by what you failed to do To those that have heard your preachings and seen your writings, you are a grand paradox a strange enigma For seven long years you have held undisputed, almost despotic sway over the dumb millions of India You have had your pet Planning Commission After

Gandhiji and Patel, you have held the sceptre as the sole dictator of your party and government alike You and your State governments have handled over eight thousand million rupees of public money year by year You have and you had at all times thousands of crores of locked up money which you can call, if only you have the will You have the backing of the masses in an abundant measure To lift the down trodden even a little, you have equipment and facilities which no leader ever had in any nation

You have talked much of what Bharat has achieved after independence, partition problems, refugee rehabilitation, Kashmir, consolidation of States, neutral foreign policy and river valley schemes This, in short, is the list of glorious achievements in which you have taken pride To be proud is your strength, as well as your weakness Take your claim and be proud There may be shades of criticism, but broadly the nation stands behind you in these

But of what avail can your foreign policy and Kashmir be to the hungry millions? Are you out to protect three hundred million corpses? What have you done to tackle the growing poverty in the lower strata? You cry hoarsely 'Produce more', and you talk of big river valley schemes What have you done to raise the purchasing power of the masses? Even if our industrial magnates flood the markets with all types of consumer goods, where will the Indian farmer find the money to pay the price? You know the average farmer, who has neither land nor shelter, and who gets work for barely four months a year You have seen him starve, you have seen him without garment

"Your Bharat has three hundred million such farmers There was a time when you mixed with them, and roused them by your slogans You sounded the tocsin of the peasants' struggle, and gave them pledges under your banner You were, and I am afraid you are still, the cherished idol of the hearts of millions of them You were to them the one and only hope

"What a trust! And what a betrayal! In your adversity, their problems were first on your lips But now while in power, other problems stare you in the face It was their trust and their vote which put you in power You have kicked the

ladder by which you ascended the heights , and there you cling rather precariously

Surely you know that without an equitable redistribution of wealth and a rise in the purchasing power at the lower strata, mere increase in capitalist production can do no good You also know that in various ways the government can use its lawful authority to reduce glaring inequalities, conscription of wealth, capital levy, estate duties, reorientation of the tax system, ceiling on landholdings, redistribution of surplus land, profit sharing in industries, pegging of dividends, etc

'Dear comrade, in spite of your honesty and integrity, you are impatient and intolerant A mental depravation has come upon you You are labouring under a false sense of intellectual monopoly Sometimes a certain amount of egoism and haughtiness mar your grace

In the Congress Committee meeting held at Sardar Nagar recently Mahavir Tyagi charged the Congress leaders in the High Command and the Government for sticking to offices and not giving place to young blood He dubbed the policies of the present Government as belated, cowardly and that of appeasement

Mr Tyagi said that under the pretext of maintaining law and order misuse of power was being made He alleged that top Congress leaders had failed to create a second line of leadership and asked how many leaders had been prepared after the death of Mahatma Gandhi He also alleged that Congress organisation had changed its goal from service to power and he saw ruin of the organisation if something was not done to bring it under check

S K Patil, Food Minister has put it bluntly that "Nehru is the greatest asset we have, because, he is just like a banyan tree under whose shade millions take shelter He is also a liability because in the shade of that banyan tree, biologically, nothing grows"

Jawaharlal's younger sister Krishna Hutheesing brings out the change about Nehru after he became Prime Minis-

ter "Nehru was not by any means a saint but one who had strong convictions, ideals and dreams that could not be shattered by the influence of those around him, but today the Prime Minister Nehru is so different, so unapproachable, stern, hard and even intolerant Worst of all, he has allowed himself to be surrounded by those who are known to be opportunists, and the entire government machinery, corrupt and heavy with intrigue, rules the land with no hope of an honest hearing from any quarter"

Speaking of Jawaharlal to a pressman during 1958 our Finance Minister Morarji Desai is reported to have said —

> 'Human foibles are hard to remove Nehru has always ridden on the crest of the wave since childhood He was lionized from the very beginning He could run away with anything A feeling of indispensability grew up in him Intellectually he is humble, spiritually he is not If he believed in God, he would be another Gandhi As it is, he believes the scientific way is the only way'

> "India's foreign policy should no longer be the close preserve of the Prime Minister and Mr Krishna Menon There must be close and frequent contacts with men like Acharya Kripalani, Mr Rajagopalachari and Mr Jayaprakash Narayan and a few other leaders outside the Congress before final decisions are taken on the important issues facing the world Only thus can the Prime Minister hope to receive full national backing for his foreign policy"
>
> B SHIVA RAO

15 For God and Country

Freedom descended on us in a manner unknown in the annals of the history of the world almost as if by the Grace of God That has to be sustained by us, and it will be possible only if all the citizens do their duty without shirking responsibility and behave in a disciplined manner More than the revolutionary spirit of Jawaharlal or Subhas, it is the gentle and persistent demand of Gandhiji, his creed of non-violence and great love even unto his enemies, that made Britain concede to us our birth-right

Vox populi Vox dei The voice of the people is the voice of God This is true only when the majority of our people develop political maturity and realise that in the welfare of the country as a whole lies the welfare of the individual Ultimately a welfare State will depend largely on the exertions of the citizens, each one individually, to produce more wealth for the nation It is no good asking some one to carry the cross for us, ourselves idling, gossiping and living in merriment One has to remember the fact that no government produces wealth, and whenever the State attempts to produce anything it generally ends in loss which the public is forced to bear A good government can at best be only an efficient administrator serving all the people equally without discrimination

If the situation of the country is causing great anxiety, this is due largely to our own indifference, easy-going and hero-worshipping habits We may respect great men for their qualities, but to worship them is well nigh dangerous For, by our excessive adoration of one who is also a mortal like us, not only do we lose our thinking power and sense

of proportion but we render him useless The excessive adoration of Jawaharlal by us is an instance to the point, and for the critical situation we are in after 13 years of self rule, we are no less responsible than Jawaharlal himself We shall respect Jawaharlal for his patriotism, courage and honesty, but we should not tolerate misrule

What a great and unpleasant surprise is it to all of us now to discover in Jawaharlal, so much recommended to the public by Gandhiji as the "Jewel of India", the "First greatest servant of the people", etc, his fondness for dictatorship and Fascism Without the moral fervour of a Gandhiji always by his side to keep him within the leash of a Democratic Republic which is the preamble of our constitution, Jawaharlal's behaviour is somewhat like that of a bounder In spite of Gandhiji's great contribution to the world of a moral rearmament process of high humanising values, it has to be admitted to our misfortune that he failed to achieve during his life time two things greatly valued by him One was his desire to bring about a Hindu-Muslim unity so as to keep our native land intact, and the other was his failure to spot out the really greatest and first servant of India, for, alas, all his extravagant epithets of Jawaharlal were to be true so long only as he himself stood by his side !

It is also discovered that Gandhiji's disciple failed to inherit all good and noble things of high values from his master His ruling the country by mere impulses and unreal ambitions is much to the dismay of her people, being only speculative in character and likely to depress the welfare of the people

It would be good whichever political party rules the country, if, in the interests of sound policy making and efficient administration, a Council of Elders is set up imme-

diately consisting of independent non-party men from each State, who would declare not to accept office under the government These elders should be above 65 years of age, should be well informed, possessed of strong character, experienced in administration and capable of thinking and acting for the welfare of the country as a whole, detached from all local and personal interests Indeed they need not be tempted with any emoluments other than those needed for their out of pocket expenses

All policies proposed by government shall first pass through them and their written advice obtained by the Prime Minister and the President before decisions are taken, as such a procedure will tend to mitigate the vagaries now present in the administration of the country The selection of such elders of non-party men must be in the hands of the Vice-President and the President of India, and they should be able to place their hands on such public spirited men as a Mannath Padmanabhan in every State Such a body will help to sustain the unity of the country

Of late, we are faced with a number of problems never experienced before We have to face shortage of food spiral rise in prices, costly services personnel and administration, heavy tax burdens and personal inconveniences all round us, due to the falling of the standards of efficiency in public services and corruption It is positively dangerous for us, to allow matters drift like this, and we citizens must all put our heads together, think for ourselves boldly and clearly without depending on others, however great they be, and throw up public spirited, honest and responsible persons to the top ranks of our administration We should not be taken in by gullible talks and promises of professional politicians, but be guided by less vociferous and more capable candidates Honest persons of business-

like habits can do more good to the public than merely talkative politicians

Today, unfortunately we have only a party government and not a national government The Indian National Congress once that was Indian, and National, has ceased to have these virtues Today the congress is a power-puffed body with finances and authority at their command, looking more after their continuance in power than after the efficiency of the administration and the welfare of the public Our rulers have cleverly divided the people into classes and masses and are playing one against the other in the search for larger support in elections The tendency of the congressmen today is to push each other away in the race for offices in the organisation, and for tickets for entry into Parliament Ignoring the idea of service to the people, the congress is engaged in collecting huge funds for election work much in advance, and exerting their official influence only to continue in power Gandhiji has shown us the way to resist authority when it is misused, and we must follow him regardless of what others do Now we are armed with power to turn the polls against those who cannot serve the country We can do this calmly and quietly without malice or hatred, if we are only serious about it

That we need an intelligent informed opposition to keep the party in power in check is recognised by all In fact in any Parliamentary system of government an opposition party is a positive safeguard to the public As now there is polarisation of the congress and the communists in their ideologies, there is greater need for patriotic thinking public to fight both

On the need for an opposition party Rajaji writes

"A strong opposition is essential for the health of democratic government In a democracy based on universal suffrage,

government by the majority without an effective opposition is like driving a donkey on whose back you put the whole load in one bundle The two party system steadies movement by putting a fairly equal load into each pannier In the human body, two eyes and two ears enable a person to place the objects seen and heard A single party democracy soon loses its sense of proportion It sees, but cannot place things in perspective or apprehend all sides of a question This is the position in India today"

In some of the most enlightened countries like Switzerland, the ruling party goes out of its way to help the opposition by offering it some seats in Parliament For, politically advanced countries have realised the value of an opposition party, as a watch and ward against the possible vagaries of the ruling party

Some years ago, a few patriotic friends of our Prime Minister made a suggestion to him that he should help development of an intelligent opposition in the Parliament to run the administration steadily and in a balanced way, but the Prime Minister would not agree to it

It should also be seen clearly that the strength of the congress during the last election was not much The total polling for the congress was less than 40 per cent of the total number But as the other sixty per cent or more got dissipated over a number of opposition candidates of various parties fighting each other, the congress succeeded in capturing a majority of seats with small majorities in many cases Besides a large number of educated people did not go to the polls out of disgust If only all the opposition parties combine together the congress party can be erased out of existence This means, a large heart, a wide vision, and a spirit of compromise on the part of the leaders of the various parties However if every party like the con-

gress is power-mad and wants to get power for its own party exclusively, then the opposition can neither succeed nor be worthwhile

Jayaprakash Narayan speaks of a party-less democracy, but that is an impracticable ideal not within easy reach at the moment

Party-less democracy, Sarvodaya and one-world-government are all great ideals and the way to achieve these is long Only after creating an awareness in the minds of our millions, of the rudiments of political philosophy, of human values and of the immutable laws of economics, one can try such experiments There need be no objection to party politics in democracy provided a code of conduct is followed by all parties Perhaps the disgust caused by the self seeking politicians and the misuse of party politics to the personal ends of a few have given room to radical thinking, such as we find in Jayaprakash Narayan This Sarvodaya leader has been thinking high and before we reach his great heights there is a long way to go The work of trying to achieve it may be started now and in that way this ideology is most welcome

Of the political parties today, Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party are both wedded to democracy Jana Sangh emphasises Bharatiya culture of *Samskriti* and *Marivada,* and stands for Hindi as the official language This cannot attract all communities in the country It is combining social ideals with politics and this acts as a deterrant to other than Hindus joining the party It looks more a Hindu Revivalist movement than a political party It is a party of purists, aiming at building of character and patriotism among the citizens of this ancient land Its policy is a long range one Wedded to Hindi as the official language of India, it may not take root all over the country and so far,

it has gained some appreciable strength in the Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab

The Swatantra Party founded by Rajaji bids fair to be an ideal political party for the reason that it has a wide plank and a simple basis to stand on, but it is of recent origin How we wish we had the Swatantra party from some years back It should have gathered much momentum by now

Poised to meet the emergency caused by the misrule of the Congress party, the Swatantra party's aims are straightforward and simple for fighting the ruling party in the immediate future Its objectives are so general and broad, and the freedom of conscience given to its members so wide that all freedom loving people may help it grow to put up a strong opposition to the party government of today Rajaji has cleverly managed to get the party started free from all controversial points of language, culture, social ideologies and matters of a similar kind Emerging as the latest democratic political organisation in India it has taken note of all the previous political party experiences and has shaped well The wisdom of our citizens will lie in giving the Swatantra Party full support irrespective of any particular or special affinity a citizen may have to any other party or group For, solidarity of the people behind one good opposition is the most urgent need of the hour

At the time Syama Prasad started Jana Sangh, the misrule of the congress party government was not so marked as it is today and so the former developed a cultural ideology in the political sphere, the more so on account of the neglect by the government of the interests of the Hindus who were displaced from their original homes The Bharatiya slant was given to the Jana Sangh more to counteract the unbridled secularism of the congress party government

that set an advantage to the aggressive Muslim community over their docile and peace loving Hindu brethren The utter stupidity of the congress under Jawaharlal gave our Muslim brethren not only a separate religious State, but also a privileged position that nothing should be done to affect their religious susceptibilities, by legislation or otherwise The policy of non-interference in religious matters by the State of the old British rule shines by contrast before the mischief of secularism, as in fact the former gave us a kind of freedom which we lost after our country got its freedom

While Jana Sangh lays stress more on character, culture, unswerving loyalty to the motherland and Bharatiya Samskaras, the Swatantra party emphasises freedom of the individual, including the freedom of conscience These two parties have something to give to each other, but will they move with a wider heart and in a larger way or will each party stress its own interest to the exclusion of the other? Our future will depend on the tolerance, and co-operation with which all democratic forces in the country will pull together

Today we want a government not wedded to ideologies but to realities, a government that can help to produce more food and more of consumer goods at less cost and bring them within the reach of all We do not want a State Trading Corporation which will take away from the people by one hand and waste by the other hand We want a consumer economy and not a command economy The country cries for a government by brave and simple people and not by revolutionaries

We have to remember that people who talk of doing away with vested interests are only planning to vest those interests elsewhere according to their whims and fancies

To fight the congress is no easy affair Having tasted power, the congress party will fight hard like a man-eater By long experience of electioneering campaigns it has developed a high technique The congress government through the channels of community projects and block developments have hidden agents to support their own candidates It will be a handicap race for any party to fight the congress at elections

The ruling party start their election propaganda long time in advance by putting attractive colour posters and catchy slogans such as would capture the imagination of the illiterate voters in the villages They then try to take away the wind from the sails of the communist party with promises almost similar to those of the communists Little do the poor voters in the villages know that the promises held out by these parties are impossible of performance and are made only for the moment and for success at elections When voters realise that no government can help them and that the government themselves are carrying on only at the sweat of the villagers, and that robbing Peter to pay Paul can last only so long as Peter has something to be robbed they can easily turn the tables against both communists and the congress This work of educating the masses against cunning devices of politicians is the task of the intelligentsia of the country It requires all the courage and activities of the informed public to educate the uninformed electorate

The voters in the villages must be told in clear and simple language that through sales tax and inflation they are paying heavy taxes to the congress party government A cunning candidate may tempt a voter with a small gratification, but the candidate knows how to draw more than he had paid for the vote through a slight increase in

the sales tax, after he comes to power The illiterate voters must be informed of all the tricks and tactics played on them They must be made to realise that it is they who make the ' sirkar ' and so should not be afraid of anybody The sirkar is paid land revenue and other taxes in order to serve the villages and it is not the villagers who should serve to fatten congress partymen

As it is, the political immaturity of the masses is appalling In this lies the strength of the congress, since the masses can be carried away easily with slogans and catch-words During the last election, the congress party held out the offer of land for the landless as an election stunt For the coming election, Panchayat Raj is the election stunt The masses have to be swayed to the right direction by a moral force, by persons of the calibre of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who can speak out truth, boldly and courageously

Excepting probably Jawaharlal who refuses to think fully about it, the congress party leaders know in their hearts of heart that land ceiling is inequitable, unfair to a section of agriculturists and must inevitably reduce production Still having committed themselves to the party boss they keep talking about it in different shades of earnestness

Commenting on the insincerity of some of the members of the Congress, who vote without faith, Sanjiva Reddy in his presidential speech recently said as follows

> The question of indiscipline in the Congress is far more serious and has to be tackled with firmness and courage Resolutions are passed with overwhelming majority but the people who vote for them do not have sincere faith in them It is far better that men and women should honestly express their real convictions and vote according to the dictates of their conscience rather than vote loosely for a resolution in which they do not have real belief It would be an act of

real courage on their part to openly profess their opposition or disbelief in the resolutions that came before them rather than vote for them while at the same time not believing in them

Panchayat Raj was Gandhiji's ideal It should have been accomplished by now Now after nearly 13 years of freedom and a large number of retrograde steps, Panchayat Raj has been made more difficult and it is unlikely that this stunt can go far

The election laws are as strange and unjust as the other acts of the congress party One glaring instance is that while candidates can spend Rs 25,000 only for a parliamentary seat, the party to which the candidate belongs can spend any amount for its propaganda An Independent has thus to stand at a disadvantage or he is driven to join the ranks of the dishonest

At the time of the formation of the first Cabinet when Gandhiji was alive he insisted on men of abilities, irrespective of party affiliations like John Matthai and Syama Prasad Mookerji being taken into the cabinet so that the country's needs may be best served Later it was decided on ideological grounds that only elected representatives must be ministers regardless of their abilities Gandhiji's first and foremost consideration was public welfare, while the congress under Jawaharlal looks only to its own power and prestige

In the U S A whichever party comes to power, production always remains the main consideration The several departments of production are handed over to expert businessmen, experts in their different branches, and politicians are not allowed to interfere in these matters Naturally production increases there and today it is the most prosperous country in the world in spite of Khrushchev's sabre

rattling Russia may have achieved rather more scientifically, but U S A has achieved more socially and materially with her people by its side Russian people today are worried about their costly scientific experiments which deprive them of their ordinary creature comforts

Our Prime Minister, while furious with the Western nations for their Imperialism and Colonialism, is blind to the great designs of China and Russia Perhaps the latter is only an "expansionist policy", and China causing genocide of Tibet, and replanting that country with Chinese is not colonialism, but 'revivalism' Nothing can be stranger than this Only when a nation migrates to a far off country it is colonialism If a big neighbour eats his small neighbour and migrates there, it is not colonialism according to Jawaharlal, but it is only 'liberation'

He knows the brutal ways in which Stalin raised Russia and that country is no better for all that, except for its spectacular scientific advance unconnected with public welfare He cannot be unaware of the communist method of spreading imperialism under the guise of liberation aptly described by B K Desai as follows —

> 'The Communist Party in any country is essentially a conspiratorial movement directed and rigidly controlled by the central headquarters of the proposed world revolution This explains the secrecy that usually surrounds the deliberations and activities of the party Now the existence of such a conspiratorial movement, which ostensibly functions as a democratic opposition with a flexible readiness almost to proclaim everything, raises many fundamental problems This is not an honest and loyal opposition within the framework of democratic processes which every democrat has to respect and encourage in the interest of democracy It is a conspiracy to undermine and overthrow not only the democratically elected Government but the very framework of the democratic institutions, and it is subsidised and rigidly controlled from the foreign soil

> by the avowed enemies of democracy all over the world Its main function is to acquire respectability by hypocritical espousal of democracy and unscrupulous exploitation of popular prejudices and grievances, to occupy strategic posts and then to open the gates after the Trojan horse is safe within the city

The difficulty with our Prime Minister is that he is impatient of criticism All valid and constructive criticism he brushes aside by calling them names such as " We are in an atomic age ", " That is 17th century thinking ", " Narrow mindedness ", " Lack of dynamism ", " Confused thinking ", " Out-moded ", " Extricate the members from a morass ", " Fantastic nonsense " and other pet set of expressions He dubs intelligent opposition parties as " Richman's party ", " Oldman's party ", " Communal and antiquated " and rides slip-shod over them

Of late, it has become quite imperative, that the thinking citizens of our country should wake up and exercise their minds and work up their conscience, which has so far been lulled to rest by complaisance, over-confidence and too much trust in others Thirteen years passed without any pronounced advancement in the life of the common man Those who in the name of social justice embraced collectivist dogmas have ended up with the formulation of a totalitarian perquisitive society and official feudals People at large who have to face the gradually rising cost of living can no longer be fooled and human nature being the better of all, will always respond to trust and appeal for goodness in public life Here then, we need a really dynamic Master Plan for our country that would assure our people a life of safety, prosperity, democratic social security, and of equal opportunities

Economic planning however doctrinaire it may be, must conform to certain commonplace ideals (principles of

commonsense) In no phase of development, economic life can be shaped at the draft board, as it requires the voluntary efforts of human beings And anybody who thinks he can disregard basic human nature, will only be heading for frustration, as it has already happened with all our basic needs of mere existence Human individuals must be rendered conscious of the sense and value of their dutiful work and conscientious effort, and be assured of a reasonable reward People must also be shown that better performance leads to better life The citizen must be given the chance of individual development and must have the right to enjoy the fruits of his own efforts In these circumstances dynamic free enterprise within socially desirable regulations, is the only answer to the needs of the modern world and to our country in particular

In a country like ours where literacy is still at a low ebb and social responsibility hopelessly at stake, the pathway to prosperity is threefold and they are in order of priority Militarisation, Industrialisation and Democratic Socialisation through education

The real danger to India in the coming years will be from its communist neighbour Advantage of this may be taken by Pakistan to put pressure on us for more concessions at our costs The amazingly growing population of China which is the most prolific in the whole world much dreaded by the Europeans over a generation ago as the "Yellow Peril", seems to be descending on India It is feared that China and her other friends will co-operate for a world domination under which South and South East Asia may go to China's share Deeply cunning and covert as the communists' methods are, they have disguised their imperialistic designs under the name of "Liberation Army" Just as Russia made Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia as

her stooges to subserve her, China wants under her sway, all countries south of China *We must be aware of that* Patriotic, good, honest and straightforward as our Jawaharlal may be, we have, however, found him in over 13 years' experience, arrogant, conceited and ill-equipped to meet such an emergent situation Nothing short of a national government, with the backing of the nation as a whole can help us to get over such situations It is time that our citizens take note of this impending danger

The prime need of our country calling for top priority at the moment is Militarisation Merely improving the pace of industrialisation without security against foreign domination will not serve us right at a time when on our frontiers there is impending peril Hence the defence of the land must receive priority over everything else and only within the walls of safety can our dream of industrial development come true

The second requisite is industrialisation, for the accomplishment of which, mere ideologies and dogmatic assertion of pre-conceived ideas would not serve, nor should they be allowed to stand in the way of organised utilization of all available talent and resources in the country In order that real progress may be achieved there should be clear demarcation of functions of the State and private enterprise

The panacea for an under-developed country like ours is the steady and socially acceptable process of democratic socialisation for which the preparatory ground is sound education and a sound policy of industrialisation On these the superstructure of social democracy can be securely built Otherwise we will be only rationing out what we have and will find ourselves in trouble over the widening gulf of increasing demand and insufficient supply

Our right to vote in elections is a sacred one, and if

we do not exercise that, we shall be sinning against God and our Country, for we hold that right in trust for all our people and not merely for one's own benefit Our loyalty we owe to our country and to our people, and not to any individual however great he may be

Let us shed our indifference, and work hard intelligently and courageously

So help us God to do our duty by our country without fear, unmindful of favours and temporary gains

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